CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE.

CAESAR

2/6

John Fletcher


GALLIA
BRITANNIA
HIBERNIA
GERMANIA
BELGA
HISPANIA
OCEANUS
Cantabri
Aquitani
Pyrenaei Montes
Celtae
Provincia
Gallia Transpadana
Gallia Cispadana
Mare Adriaticum
Illyricum
Noricum
Venetia
Alpes
Alpes Maritimae
Apennini Montes
Pictones
Santones
Lemovices
Garumni
Petrocorii
Cadurci
Ruteni
Velauni
Volcae
Bituriges
Arverni
Aedui
Segusiani
Sequani
Helvetii
Lingones
Senones
Aulerci
Rhedones
Veneti
Osismii
Curiosolites
Unelli
Lexovii
Caletes
Bellovaci
Atrebates
Morini
Nervii
Menapii
Aduatuci
Eburones
Treviri
Remi
Suessiones
Catalauni
Leuci
Mediomatrici
Triboci
Nantuates
Allobroges
Vocontii
Cavares
Usipetes
Tencteri
Ubii
Sigambri
Marcomanni
Hercynia Silva
Arduenna Silva
Pons Caesaris
Fretum Gallicum
Cenimagni
Trinobantes
Cassivellauni Fines
Bibroci
Rhenus Fl
Mosa Fl
Danubius Fl
Albis Fl
Vesurgis Fl
Garumna Fl
Liger Fl
Rhodanus Fl
Lutetia
Alesia
Lugdunum
Genabum
Avaricum
Tolosa
Narbo
Genava
Lemannus Lacus
Jura Mons
Corsica
Constructed & Engraved

CHAMBERS' EDUCATIONAL COURSE—CLASSICAL SECTION.

EDITED BY DRS SCHMITZ AND ZUMPT.

C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARII

DE BELLO GALLICO.

[edid. L. Schmitz]

EDINBURGH:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM AND ROBERT CHAMBERS.
1847.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

The study of Greek and Roman literature is usually considered an indispensable branch of a liberal education. By offering to the young the contemplation of great minds, as reflected in the works of the classic authors of antiquity, it extends the range of ideas, and becomes a species of intellectual training, which, though differing from, is not inferior to, that imparted by the study of the exact sciences. Besides these advantages, an acquaintance with the languages of ancient Greece and Rome is desirable, on account of the extent to which they enter into the formation of our own and other European tongues, as well as into the construction of all scientific nomenclature.

Latterly, a disposition has been manifested to undervalue classical attainments, but this may be safely ascribed less to the demands made by other branches of learning, than to the manner in which Greek and Latin have usually been imparted. Everything may be carried to excess; and it cannot be doubted that the practice of teaching these languages as mere verbal acquirements, to the exclusion of things more directly available in active life, has done incalculable damage to the principles of a liberal education. To restore the Classics to their proper place, all that seems necessary is, to make them a part, not the whole, of school instruction; thus allowing time and opportunity for acquiring the elements of those arts and sciences without which any system of modern tuition would be faulty and incomplete. To aid this desirable object, it appears to us that nothing is more wanted than an improved series of school-books, by which the study may be facilitated, and rendered attractive, instead of an object of aversion, as heretofore, to learners. An effort must be made to help pupils over difficulties which unduly retard their progress, and unnecessarily consume their time. Such an effort is the intended CLASSICAL SECTION of CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE.

Influenced by a desire to offer, in the first place, a series of *Latin* class-books worthy of, and suitable to, the wants and wishes of the age, we have deemed it proper to abandon the grammars

and texts usually employed in the United Kingdom, and to place the preparation of a new and genuine set in the hands of two eminent scholars and practical teachers—L. Schmitz, Ph. D., F.R.S.E., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh; and C. G. Zumpt, Ph. D., Professor in the University, and Member of the Royal Academy, of Berlin. Under their editorial management, it is proposed that the section shall combine the following advantages :—

1. A gradually ascending series of school-books on a uniform plan, so as to constitute within a definite number a complete Latin curriculum.

2. Certain arrangements in the rudimentary volumes, which will insure a fair amount of knowledge in Roman literature to those who are not designed for professional life, and who, therefore, will not require to extend their studies to the advanced portion of the series.

3. The text of each author will be such as has been constituted by the most recent collations of manuscripts, and will be prefaced by biographical and critical sketches in English, that pupils may be made aware of the character and peculiarities of the work they are about to study.

4. To remove difficulties, and sustain an interest in the text, explanatory notes in English will be placed at the foot of each page, and such comparisons drawn as may serve to unite the history of the past with the realities of modern times.

5. The works, generally, will be embellished with maps and illustrative engravings—accompaniments which will greatly assist the student's comprehension of the nature of the countries and leading circumstances described.

6. The respective volumes will be issued at a price considerably less than that usually charged; and as the texts are from the most eminent sources, and the whole series constructed upon a determinate plan, the practice of issuing new and altered editions, which is complained of alike by teachers and pupils, will be altogether avoided.

By such means, we are encouraged to hope that the Classical, like the other sections of the EDUCATIONAL COURSE, will assume a respectable position in the literature of instruction, and be regarded in some degree as a boon to the youth of England.

W. & R. C.

PREFACE.

The Publishers' Notice sufficiently explains the nature and design of the series of which the present volume—C. Julii Caesaris Commentarii de Bello Gallico—forms a part. In reference to the text, I have in the first four books adopted that of C. E. C. Schneider (Halle, 1840, 8vo.), whose excellent edition is unfortunately not completed; while in the remaining three I have chiefly followed the edition of C. G. Herzog (Leipzig, 1831, 8vo.). I have, however, considered it necessary to abandon certain peculiarities of orthography adopted by the former of these authorities; for, although more correct than the common orthography, they would be perplexing to pupils who have only the ordinary dictionaries at their command.

With respect to the notes which are to accompany the different texts, an additional word of explanation seems desirable. In the writings of every ancient author, a number of passages occur presenting grammatical difficulties, or relating to historical, geographical, and other particulars, which a youth cannot understand without consulting a variety of books; and in the greater number of instances, these books are either not at his command, or if he does possess them, he is often ignorant of the manner of gathering from them the required information. The object, therefore, of the notes, and other illustrations, is to remove such difficulties, and generally to afford an aid to those who are disposed to make a reasonable exertion in mastering the subject of their lessons. Nothing, however, can be more destructive to the mental energies of pupils, than placing before them annotations on a principle of indiscriminate translation; for, instead of causing them to exert their minds, and acquire habits of exact reasoning and investigation—an important object in classical training—the assistance so unduly afforded robs them of all motive for exertion, and deprives them of the invaluable pleasure of conquering difficulties, and of feeling that they have been instrumental in their own instruction.

L. SCHMITZ.

Edinburgh, *April* 1847.

INTRODUCTION.

CAIUS JULIUS CAESAR, one of the most distinguished characters in Roman history, was the son of C. Julius Caesar and Aurelia—a woman not unworthy of being ranked with Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi—and was born on the 12th of Quintilis (July), in the year B.C. 100. He lost his father at the age of sixteen, but his mother was still living at the time of his victorious career in Gaul. By her his education was superintended with the utmost care; and the facility with which he comprehended the most difficult subjects submitted to him, and the zeal he displayed in the acquisition of knowledge, produced a strong conviction that he would one day exercise great influence on the affairs of his country. Beyond this, little is known respecting his early youth, for the two biographies which we have of him by Plutarch and Suetonius are unfortunately defective, the beginning being wanting in both.

The period at which Caesar appeared was towards the close of the Roman republic, when eminently favourable opportunities were offered for the display of great and varied talents. The state was torn asunder by contending factions; the virtue of the ancient republic had departed; and ambitious men were fiercely struggling for personal aggrandisement, and aiming at sovereign power. On the one hand were an aristocracy exclusive in spirit, and enriched by the plunder of the provinces; on the other a populace, ignorant, demoralised, and ready on all occasions to clamour for, and give support to, those who were the most lavish in their bribes and public entertainments. Sulla, the champion of the nobles, supported by the senate, had just achieved a signal triumph over Marius, the leader of the popular party, and had been raised to the dictatorship—an office which gave him the first authority in the state, and enabled him to exercise the most tyrannic sway. Caesar, both from inclination and from family connexion, joined the popular party, and thus incurred the hatred of Sulla, who had already conceived a dislike for him, on account of his connexion with Marius, who was married to his aunt Julia. This dislike at length found vent, when Caesar, in B.C. 83, married Cornelia, daughter of L. Cinna, another of the political

opponents of the dictator. Sulla now commanded Caesar to divorce Cornelia; but the young hero resolutely defied the order, and refused to part with his beloved wife—an act of daring resistance, for at this time all Rome trembled before the tyrant. In consequence of this conduct, Caesar was deprived of the priestly dignity of flamen Dialis, to which he had been shortly before appointed; also of the dowry of his wife, and of his own property; and if he had remained at Rome, his life would undoubtedly have been sacrificed. He therefore withdrew into the country, until he was pardoned through the mediation of the vestal virgins and some of his friends; though Sulla forgave him with reluctance, remarking that this young man would be the ruin of the aristocracy, for that many Mariuses were slumbering in him.

Instead of remaining at home, Caesar preferred serving in the army, which was then engaged in Asia Minor; and he there so much distinguished himself, that he was rewarded with a civic crown. In B.C. 78 he was serving under P. Servilius against the Isaurians and pirates, when the news of Sulla's death induced him to return to Rome. He was too prudent, and had too little confidence in Lepidus, to join him in his attempt to abolish the institutions of the late dictator; and like most young Romans of the time, he began his public career as an orator in the courts of justice. He accused several of the partisans of Sulla who had been guilty of extortion and oppression in the provinces: but his first efforts were unsuccessful, not from his want of power as an orator, but because it was a matter of vital importance to the aristocracy to obtain the acquittal of the culprits. Hereupon, either with a view of escaping from the assaults of his enemies, or for the purpose of devoting his time to the cultivation of his mind, he withdrew to the island of Rhodes, where he studied under the celebrated rhetorician Apollonius Molo. On his way thither he was taken prisoner, in the neighbourhood of Miletus, by the pirates, who at that time scoured the Mediterranean in all directions. Their object, however, was only to extort money; and the servants of Caesar, who were sent out, succeeded 'in thirty-eight days' in obtaining the sum of fifty talents, with which he ransomed himself. While in the hands of the pirates, Caesar gave proofs of his extraordinary mind, and of the power which he exercised over all with whom he came in contact. So far from conducting himself as their captive, he treated them as if he had been their master, without their venturing to punish him; and no sooner had he regained his liberty, than he manned some ships in the port of Miletus, attacked the pirates, took several of them prisoners, and crucified them, although he was not invested with any official power or authority.

His stay in Rhodes did not extend beyond one year; and in B.C. 74, when Mithridates, king of Pontus, resumed hostilities against the Romans, Caesar, though still a private person, collected a small force, by which he kept the wavering towns in Asia Minor in submission to Rome. Before the end of the year he returned home, having been elected pontiff in the place of his uncle, C. Aurelius Cotta. Upon his arrival, he used every means to increase his popularity; and as his property was not large, he borrowed money from the usurers, who willingly gave him what he demanded, though they had no security except his honesty, and the prospect that some public office might afford him the means of paying his debts. Not long after, he was elected by the people one of the tribunes of the soldiers, though we do not know whether he fought in any of the wars which were then carried on against Mithridates, Sertorius, and Spartacus. It is certain, however, that he acted a prominent part in the upsetting of the Sullanian institutions, which was brought about by Pompey and L. Aurelius Cotta; and this was sufficient to establish him in the popular favour. In B.C. 68 he obtained the quaestorship, an office which was the first stepping-stone to the great magistracies of the republic. In this capacity he was sent to Spain, where he distinguished himself chiefly in conducting the lawsuits which were brought before him in the various towns of the province. On his return he married Pompeia, a daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus—Cornelia having died before he went to Spain. This marriage was undoubtedly intended to secure the friendship of Pompey, who allowed himself more and more to be drawn over to the popular party by Caesar, the latter attacking and ridiculing the aristocracy on every occasion. Caesar apparently acted as the champion of Pompey; but he knew that his friend could not stand without him, and that, in the end, he himself would be the first man in the republic: he, in fact, used Pompey only as an instrument to break the power of the aristocracy. With these objects in view, he supported him in all his undertakings, and took no small share in obtaining for him the command in the war against the pirates, and afterwards in that against Mithridates.

In B.C. 65 he was elected curule aedile. It had been customary, for a long time, for persons entering on this office, to endeavour to gain popularity by entertaining the people with splendid games and public amusements, and so secure their favour and support in the elections for higher offices. Although Caesar had no great means of his own, his aedileship surpassed in splendour and magnificence all that had ever been seen at Rome. His liberality was boundless; and in the games which were celebrated in the circus, there appeared three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, all

equipped in the most costly manner. All this was done with borrowed money; his popularity became immense, and was increased by the manner in which he contrived on every occasion to humble the pride of the aristocracy. One morning, the trophies and statues of Marius, which had been removed from the Capitol by Sulla, were found restored to their places. Every one knew that this was Caesar's doing, and the people were delighted at the reappearance of the monuments of their great champion, while the senatorial party, though alarmed in the highest degree, and apprehending nothing short of a revolution, did not dare to challenge his conduct. After his aedileship he continued to annoy the partisans of the senate in various ways, but chiefly by bringing accusations against those who were guilty of crimes committed under the protection of the laws of Sulla. This, however, he did, not so much with the intention of bringing those persons to punishment, as of preventing the senatorial party from any further summary or unconstitutional proceedings against the popular party. In B.C. 63 he was elected chief pontiff, although men far above him in rank and station were his competitors; and shortly after, he obtained the office of praetor for the year following.

His enemies now made every effort to check him in his rapid progress, and if possible to crush him. The discovery of the Catilinarian conspiracy seemed to offer a favourable opportunity: he was privately and publicly charged with being an accomplice; but not a shadow of evidence was brought forward, and there does not seem to be the slightest ground for believing that he could have embarked in that mad and senseless scheme. During his praetorship vehement disputes were agitated, on account of Cicero having put to death some of the associates of Catiline without a formal trial. Caesar supported the enemies of Cicero, while M. Cato opposed him. Owing to the violence with which the question was debated, Caesar and one of the tribunes were suspended by the senate from their offices; but Caesar's conduct on that occasion was so well calculated, and so prudent, that the senate in the end was obliged to apologise for its hasty measure, and publicly to thank him for his moderation. This was a great humiliation for the aristocratic party, but they had brought it upon themselves. In the same year Caesar divorced his wife Pompeia, having discovered that she was carrying on an intrigue with the notorious P. Clodius; but he did not prosecute the offender, because he was very popular, and a man of great importance to Caesar's own party.

After the termination of his praetorship, Caesar undertook the administration of the province of Western Spain. His debts had at this time become so enormous, and his creditors so clamorous, that he was obliged to take some steps towards relieving himself

before quitting Rome. The wealthy Crassus and other friends became security for him; and matters being thus arranged, he set out for his province. He was now, for the first time, at the head of an army, and in a short time, like a true military genius, he at once displayed all the qualities of a great general. After having subdued some of the mountain tribes of Lusitania, and taken Brigantium, a town of the Gallaeci, he returned to Rome. The money he had collected in Spain enabled him to pay his debts, and in B.C. 60 he offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. His own influence and popularity, and the support of Pompey, secured his election; but the aristocrats, by immense exertion and bribery, contrived to obtain the appointment of M. Bibulus, a stout champion of their party, as his colleague. Pompey had before this time definitively joined the popular party; for, on his return from the Mithridatic war, the senate refused to ratify the regulations which he had made in Asia, and Caesar promised him by and by to compel its sanction. After his election, Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus formed an alliance, in which they agreed to support one another: their union rendered them invincible, and they accordingly had the fate of the republic in their hands. The year of Caesar's consulship is remarkable for several legislative enactments. By one of these he compelled the senate to publish the reports of its proceedings, whereby it became amenable to public opinion. The second was an agrarian law, by which twenty thousand citizens, and among them many of Pompey's veterans, received assignments of the public land in Campania. This law was carried by force of arms, and in spite of the most violent opposition of the aristocracy and his colleague Bibulus, who was so mortified by the enactment, that he withdrew altogether from public life until the expiration of his consulship. By this law Caesar gained the firmest hold on the attachment of the people; and his next measure was calculated to secure the favour of the equites. These men, in their eagerness to obtain contracts for raising the public revenue in the provinces, had offered larger sums than they could afford, and Caesar now prevailed upon the people to relieve them of one-third of their payment. After this he induced the senate to sanction the regulations of Pompey in Asia. The senate had assigned to Caesar a province from which neither fame nor gain could be derived; but as he had now secured the support of the people, the equites, and Pompey, he prevailed upon the tribune Vatinius to propose to the people that, after the expiration of his consulship, he should receive the administration of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years. The bill was passed; and the senate, of its own accord, added the province of Transalpine Gaul, it being apprehended that the people would demand it for Caesar. In order to attach Pompey as firmly

as possible to his cause, Caesar gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, and he himself married the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, who was elected consul for the year B. C. 57.

The province of Transalpine Gaul afforded Caesar a brilliant opportunity of displaying his military genius, and of attaching the army to his person; while at the same time he was not too far from Rome to continue his connection with the city, watch the proceedings of his enemies, and keep his friends actively engaged in promoting his interests: for he must have foreseen that, if the aristocracy should ever succeed in gaining Pompey over to their side, they would not scruple to use force against him. After the close of his consulship, he remained for some time in the city; for although his successors in office were attached to his cause, the praetors wanted to rescind his regulations: but their attempts were useless. After quitting Rome, he lingered for a few months with his legions in the neighbourhood of the city, with the view of supporting Clodius, who was then tribune of the people, and had resolved to bring about the downfall of Cicero. When the latter had withdrawn to exile, Caesar, about the end of April, B. C. 58, set out for Gaul. We need not here give an account of his campaigns in that country, for they are described by the great general himself, in the work to which this sketch is intended as an introduction. Suffice it to say, that during his administration of Gaul, from B. C. 58 to B. C. 50, he completely subdued the country between the Rhine, the ocean, the Pyrenees, and the Alps, notwithstanding the repeated and formidable attempts of the inhabitants to shake off the Roman yoke; and that this was the first great step towards Romanising a region in which, during the empire, the Latin language was as commonly spoken as in Italy. The French language, even at this day, is a living proof to what extent Roman civilisation at one time prevailed in Gaul. Caesar, moreover, twice crossed the Rhine, and twice invaded Britain, but made no permanent conquests either in Germany or in our own island.

It is remarked above that Caesar received his provinces for five years, a period which would have terminated in B. C. 54; but in B. C. 56, while his army was in winter quarters, he had a meeting with Pompey and Crassus in the north of Italy, at which it was arranged that Pompey should have the consulship for the year B. C. 55, and that afterwards they should have the provinces of Spain and Syria for five years each. The two, in return, promised to procure for Caesar the prolongation of his administration of Gaul for five years. This was brought about by a bill of the tribune Trebonius; so that Caesar's proconsulship of Gaul was now to be continued till the end of B. C. 49. The year after these new arrangements, Julia, the wife of Pompey, died; and

there being no longer any bond between Caesar and Pompey, their friendship began to cool, especially on the part of the latter. The death of Crassus in his unfortunate campaign against the Parthians, in B. C. 53, left Caesar and Pompey alone at the head of the republic. Caesar's victories in Gaul daily increased his reputation, and roused the people's admiration of his exploits; while Pompey, who had once been the greatest man of the state, began to perceive, with feelings of mortification, that Caesar was rising above him in public estimation. Hence Pompey took no steps to check the terrible anarchy which prevailed at Rome about the end of B. C. 53, and the beginning of B. C. 52, in consequence of the murder of Clodius. During these disturbances he hoped to be called to the dictatorship; but though he was disappointed in this, his vanity was gratified by being elected sole consul. As this was the doing of the aristocracy, he was inclined to become reconciled to them. He now also procured for himself the prolongation of his proconsulship of Spain for five years; but as he did not yet think it advisable to break with Caesar, he had at the same time a law passed, conferring on Caesar the privilege of standing for the consulship without appearing at Rome in person. In the meantime, however, Pompey continued to attach himself more closely to the aristocracy, who, in consequence, became bolder and bolder in the display of their hatred towards Caesar. In B. C. 51, the consul M. Claudius Marcellus, one of the most violent aristocrats, proposed to send a successor of Caesar to Gaul, because the pacification of that province was completed; and at the same time he made an attempt to deprive Caesar of the privilege which Pompey's influence had recently procured for him. The consuls of the year following, and the energetic tribune C. Curio, were expected to strike a decisive blow at our hero, as they were believed to be warm supporters of Pompey and the senate; but Caesar's agents, and the liberal bribes which he caused to be distributed among the leading men, thwarted the plans of the aristocracy, and Curio was completely bought over. As the senate dreaded nothing so much as the election of Caesar to the consulship in his absence, and while he was at the head of his army, it was decreed, on the proposal of C. Marcellus, that he should lay down his command before the 13th of November B. C. 50—an unreasonable demand, as his proconsulship had legally to last for another year. Curio, however, interposed his veto, and the decree was annulled.

Caesar, fully convinced that he could not appear in Rome as a private person without exposing his life to imminent danger, in the meantime had marched to Cisalpine Gaul, and was received by all the towns with the greatest enthusiasm. The senate before this had demanded that he should give up two of his legions,

alleging that they were wanted for the Parthian war; and he, unwilling to cause irritation by a refusal, despatched the legions, though he knew that, in all probability, they were intended to serve against himself. Some time after this, he took up his winter quarters at Ravenna, the southernmost town of Cisalpine Gaul, and close upon the confines of Italy. Having there learned from Curio the real state of affairs, he sent him with a conciliatory letter to the senate. When Curio arrived at Rome, the senate could hardly be prevailed upon to allow the letter to be read; and after some violent discussion, it was agreed that, unless Caesar should disband his army before a certain day, he should be treated as a public enemy. Two tribunes interposed their veto, but to no purpose; and as even their lives were threatened, they fled in disguise to Caesar at Ravenna, calling upon him to protect the sacred character of the tribuneship. The senate entirely relying upon Pompey, who never dreamt of the possibility of Caesar taking up arms against him, and who fancied that it required only his word to rouse all Italy to arms, commanded the consuls to provide for the safety of the republic. War was now declared, and the whole management of it intrusted to Pompey. But the aristocracy had miscalculated: Pompey, in his self-sufficiency, had neglected every precaution, and his party was so unpopular, that it was scarcely possible to induce any man to enrol his name as a soldier.

When Caesar was informed by the tribunes of the last decree of the senate, he assembled the few troops he had with him (for his main army was still beyond the Alps), and set out towards the small river Rubicon, which formed the boundary between his province of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy. On its banks he halted for a while, doubtful as to whether he should venture upon the unconstitutional act of advancing; but at length he called out, 'The die is cast!' and crossed the river. The consideration of his own safety compelled him to act as he did: there was no alternative. As he marched southward, all the towns threw their gates open to him, and his progress was like an uninterrupted triumph. The fear and alarm at Rome became so great, that the senate, with Pompey at their head, fled from the city to Capua, and thence to Brundusium, forgetting in their hurry even to take with them the contents of the public treasury. Caesar met with no resistance till he came to Corfinium; but as Pompey did not come to the relief of the town, it surrendered; and the clemency and generosity with which the conqueror here, as elsewhere, treated his humbled opponents, at once won the attachment and admiration of all. Pompey, who was resolved to quit Italy, reached Brundusium before Caesar, and on the 17th of March he embarked for Greece. As Caesar had no fleet, he was unable to pursue

him; and he accordingly returned, and determined first to direct his arms against Afranius and Petreius, the two legates of Pompey in Spain, who managed the administration of the province for him, and had a large army at their command. Leaving M. Antony and Lepidus behind to manage the affairs of Italy, and sending others of his friends to take possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, he hastened to Spain. Some of these generals were unsuccessful; but their losses were more than counterbalanced by the advantages which Caesar himself gained. On his way, he found that the town of Massilia refused to submit to him; but, without allowing himself to be detained, he left two of his legates to lay siege to the place, and proceeded to Spain. He there met with great difficulties, and sustained some severe reverses; but in the end he compelled Afranius and Petreius to surrender: they were dismissed unhurt, and their troops joined those of the conqueror. The subjugation of Spain was completed within forty days. On his return to Gaul, Massilia was still holding out; but he soon compelled a surrender, and treated the inhabitants with leniency and forbearance.

Before quitting Massilia, Caesar was informed that, on the proposal of M. Lepidus, he had been appointed dictator. This had of course been done at Caesar's own suggestion, and he now hastened to Rome to preside at the consular elections. Being elected one of the consuls for B.C. 48, he laid down his dictatorship, after having been invested with it only eleven days. During his stay at Rome, which was very short, he acted as if he had been the acknowledged sovereign of the state, and had several beneficial laws passed, which greatly increased his popularity. In December B.C. 49, he set out for Brundusium, where his troops were already assembled. Pompey in the meantime had not been idle in Greece; he had collected a large army, and great sums of money, and his fleet swayed the Mediterranean. Caesar's fleet, on the other hand, was so small, that he could not at once transport his troops across the Adriatic. However, he arrived with a part of them safely in Epirus; but when he sent back the ships to bring the remainder, they were intercepted by M. Bibulus, Pompey's admiral, and thus a number of the forces were obliged to remain behind at Brundusium. Notwithstanding this unfortunate circumstance, he forthwith began his operations. He took several towns on his road, and hastened to Dyrrhachium, in which city Pompey kept his stores. But Pompey reached the place before Caesar, and the hostile armies now encamped opposite one another. In the meantime Antony succeeded in carrying Caesar's troops across the Adriatic, though not without the greatest peril. Pompey avoided a decisive engagement, and Caesar began to blockade him; but the

fortifications had scarcely been completed, when the former made an attack, and broke through them. Caesar sustained a considerable loss. His army began to suffer from scarcity and sickness; and having lost all hope of succeeding at Dyrrhachium, he ventured upon a step, which in boldness surpassed everything he had hitherto attempted. He set out for Thessaly, having to pass through countries where he had to fight for every inch of ground, while he was pursued by Pompey's army. The conduct of the latter had hitherto been cautious and circumspect; but he and his friends being flushed with their recent victory, resolved to decide the matter by a great blow. Caesar encamped in the plain of Pharsalus, and when Pompey came up and offered battle, he readily accepted it. Pompey's army was more than double that of his enemy, but his soldiers were effeminate nobles and inexperienced youths; and the great battle, which was fought on the 9th of August B.C. 48, ended in the total defeat of Pompey, who fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered. The news of this victory called forth such enthusiastic joy at Rome, that Caesar was appointed dictator for a whole year, and invested with the power of tribune for life; he was also elected consul for the next five years, but this extraordinary distinction he declined. After the battle, he pursued Pompey to Egypt, and when he found that he was no more, his generous soul is said to have been moved to tears. Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, completely won the conqueror's heart, and his attempts to settle the affairs of her disturbed kingdom involved him in a war (commonly called the Alexandrine) in which, for a time, he was exposed to the greatest danger; but when his reinforcements arrived, he succeeded in placing Cleopatra upon the throne. In B.C. 47, he marched through Syria to Pontus, to chastise Pharnaces, who had defeated one of his legates. The Parthian king was utterly defeated at the first encounter, and without much difficulty. After this victory, he sent to Rome the laconic but expressive report: 'I came, saw, and conquered!' ('*Veni, vidi, vici!*') Hereupon he returned to Rome, where, by the sale of the property of Pompey and several other aristocrats, he obtained the means of rewarding his soldiers and friends. For the same purpose he increased the number of quaestors, while he also caused himself to be appointed dictator for the next year.

After remaining at Rome for a few months, he set out for Africa towards the end of B.C. 47; for Cato and Scipio had there collected a numerous army of the Pompeian party, and threatened to become formidable; but the battle of Thapsus, in April B.C. 46, decided their fate in Africa; and Cato, who could not endure to survive the fall of the republic, put an end to his own life at Utica. The Pompeian party was now utterly destroyed, and

Caesar was the undisputed master of the whole of the Roman world. Before his return to Rome, every one dreaded a repetition of the horrors committed in the days of Marius and Sulla; but these fears were groundless, for cruelty and revenge formed no part of Caesar's character: he showed a clemency and readiness to forgive which filled his enemies with amazement; and did everything in his power to allay all animosity and party spirit. The dictatorship was now bestowed upon him for ten years, and the censorship, under the new title of *praefectura morum*, for three. In his triumphs which he celebrated over his vanquished enemies, he took care not to hurt the feelings of the Romans by mentioning Roman citizens as their objects. When these solemnities, and their accompanying festivities, were over, he proceeded to make several very salutary legal enactments. The most important among his measures was the reform of the calendar, which, through the arbitrary management of the pontiffs, had been thrown into such confusion, that at that time it was about three months in advance of the natural time. This reform was accomplished in B.C. 46, with the assistance of the Alexandrian mathematician Sosigenes.

In the meantime the two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, had collected the last remnants of their father's party in Spain, and being joined by many of the Spaniards, they resolved to make a last and desperate attempt to recover what was lost. As soon as Caesar heard of their movements, he hastened to Spain towards the end of B.C. 46. The enemies offered a most desperate resistance; but the battle of Munda, which Caesar was on the point of losing, and which he gained only by his personal valour and intrepidity, decided the fate of his antagonists. Cneius was killed, but Sextus made his escape. On his return to Rome in October B.C. 46, Caesar celebrated another triumph, and was received by the senate with the most abject flattery and servility: he was honoured with the title of 'Father of his Country;' statues of him were erected in all the temples; the month of Quintilis, in which he was born, was henceforth called Julius (July); he received the title of Imperator, and the dictatorship for life, and the consulship for the next ten years. These and other extraordinary distinctions were literally showered upon him: he, in fact, was the sovereign of the empire. He now began to devise vast schemes for the benefit of his country and his fellow-citizens. He increased the number of the senators, quaestors, aediles, and praetors, which afforded him the means of rewarding those friends who had served him in his late struggles. He also undertook or designed a great number of works of public utility; but few of them were completed, as his career was cut short in the midst of his plans. It is a singular fact, that among his numerous

schemes there is none to show that he intended to reform the constitution of the republic; but it seems he was convinced that no reform could restore that of which the soul and spirit had departed long since; and even if he aimed at reform, he must have known that the first thing to be done was to establish his own power on a sure and legal foundation. It was perhaps for this reason that he was not content with the substance of regal power, but was anxious also to have the outward signs of royalty, and thereby, as it were, to legalise that which he possessed. An attempt was accordingly made by M. Antony to offer him the diadem in February B. C. 44; but as the people received the proposal with coolness, Caesar for the present declined the honour. How much he was bent upon obtaining it, however, became manifest soon after, when two of the tribunes were sent into exile for having ventured to manifest their disapproval of conferring upon him the kingly title.

One of his great plans was to secure the eastern frontier of the empire by a war against the Parthians, for which some preparations had already been made. When the Sibylline books were consulted respecting the undertaking, they were reported to state that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king; and one of Caesar's friends accordingly was to bring forward a proposal in the senate, that Caesar out of Italy should be permitted to assume the title of king. But this scheme was frustrated; for a conspiracy had been formed against the life of the dictator at the very beginning of the year. It was headed by Cassius and Brutus, and upwards of sixty persons were privy to it. Their pretext was the restoration of the republic; but with the exception of Brutus, there was perhaps not one who was actuated by pure motives: many of them had been mercifully treated, and promoted to high honours, by him whom they now conspired to murder; and others, such as Cassius, had no other motive except wounded pride and thwarted ambition. The 15th of March, the day on which Caesar was to receive the title of king, was fixed upon by the conspirators as a fit opportunity for carrying their design into effect. When Caesar, having been cautioned in vain, entered the senate-house, one of the conspirators approached him, as if he were about to ask some favour, and then gave him the first blow. Caesar defended himself manfully until he perceived Brutus, whom he loved like a son, among the conspirators; he then wrapt himself up in his toga, and sank after receiving twenty-three wounds. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, B. C. 44.

Thus did Rome lose the only man who could have restored peace and happiness to the state, and under whose mild sway the state might have forgotten the woes she had been suffering for the last fifty years. Those who pretended to restore free-

dom, only plunged the commonwealth into still greater miseries than those from which she had emerged through the victories of Caesar; until, ultimately, it was found preferable to enjoy peace, and the security of life and property, under one ruler, than to place all that is dear to man in perpetual jeopardy. As a general, Caesar had from the first displayed all the qualities of a great military genius; and though, in the province of Gaul, he sacrificed the lives of thousands of barbarians without remorse, yet throughout his civil wars he showed a generosity and mildness towards his vanquished opponents which filled those who had seen the fearful days of Marius and Sulla with admiration and affection. For the display of his statesmanship he had little time; but what he did, is enough to show what he would have accomplished, if he had been permitted to carry out his plans.

Perhaps the most surprising circumstance in Caesar's career, is the fact that, notwithstanding his extraordinary activity ever since his entering upon public life, he found leisure to cultivate the arts and literature, and to compose works which, like those of Cicero, gave the literary tone and character to that period, and which to this day are ranked among the finest specimens of ancient literature. Unfortunately, the greater number of them are lost, and only a few isolated passages remain, which are occasionally quoted by later writers. He was also one of the first orators of his age, and we possess a long catalogue of subjects on which he spoke in public. But it was not only the history and politics of his own time which engaged his attention: there was nothing capable of furnishing materials for the human mind to reflect upon, which did not at one time or another occupy him; and among his many works, there was one even on grammar, which is often quoted as an authority by the later grammarians of Rome. In short, Caesar must be pronounced to have been a universal genius: he was great not only as a general, but as a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, a poet, a historian, a scholar, a mathematician, and an architect.

The existing productions of Caesar are his memoirs of the Gallic and Civil wars, under the title of *Commentarii*—that is, diaries or journals. Their style is distinguished for its noble simplicity, transparent clearness and precision, as well as perfect freedom from all rhetorical pomp. They are, in fact, specimens of what the language of conversation among men of education and talent was in those times; and the few peculiarities and irregularities which their style presents are, on the whole, nothing but what may be termed conversational licences, showing a total absence of everything studied and formal. The substance of

these works was probably written down during the campaigns themselves, and they were afterwards revised in the time which their author spent in winter quarters. The Commentarii of the Gallic war contain the history of the first seven years of his campaigns, in seven books: an eighth is commonly added, which is believed to be the composition of his friend, A. Hirtius. The history of the Civil war between Caesar and Pompey, in three books, contains the history from Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon down to his arrival in Egypt, after the battle of Pharsalus. In the common editions of Caesar's works, besides the eighth book on the Gallic war, there is appended a book on the Alexandrine, and another on the African war, both probably productions of A. Hirtius; and lastly, a curious account of Caesar's war in Spain against the sons of Pompey, the author of which is utterly unknown, and seems to have been a person of no education. The only reason why these productions are usually printed together seems to be, that they contain accounts of the successive wars in which the great general was engaged. The genuine productions of Caesar, however, consist, as already stated, of no more than the seven books on the Gallic, and the three on the Civil war. In a school edition, there is no necessity for anything beyond the works which are really the productions of Caesar; and even the whole of these are not required. The Commentaries of the Gallic war are quite sufficient to give to a boy an accurate idea of the author's Latinity and his great generalship; and on this account the present volume is restricted to these, the most interesting of all his literary productions.

L. S.



C. JULII CAESARIS

COMMENTARII

DE BELLO GALLICO.

DE BELLO GALLICO.

LIBER I.

GALLIA est omnis[1] divisa in partes tres, quarum unam incolunt Belgae, aliam[2] Aquitani, tertiam qui ipsorum lingua Celtae, nostra Galli appellantur. Hi omnes lingua, institutis, legibus inter se differunt. Gallos ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, a Belgis Matrona et Sequana[3] dividit. Horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate[4] provinciae longissime absunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores saepe commeant atque ea, quae ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important, proximique sunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibuscum continenter bellum gerunt: qua de causa Helvetii quoque reliquos Gallos virtute praecedunt, quod fere quotidianis proeliis cum Germanis contendunt, cum aut suis finibus eos prohibent, aut ipsi in eorum finibus bellum gerunt. Eorum[5] una pars, quam Gallos obtinere dictum est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano; continetur Garumna flumine,

[1] What Caesar here calls *all Gaul*, is Gaul exclusive of the southern part, which had become a Roman province as early as the year B.C. 120, and which Caesar usually designates simply as *provincia*, or *provincia nostra*.

[2] *Aliam* is here used in the sense of *alteram*.

[3] The three rivers here mentioned are the modern Garonne, Marne, and Seine.

[4] *Cultus* expresses everything belonging to the outward appearance of civilised life, such as dwelling, clothing, daily occupation, and the like, whereas *humanitas* refers to the moral condition of the people.

[5] *Eorum* refers to the inhabitants of Gaul generally, and is here used with a colloquial carelessness, instead of *una pars earum trium partium*.

Oceano, finibus Belgarum; attingit etiam ab Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum; vergit ad septemtriones. Belgae ab extremis Galliae finibus oriuntur; pertinent ad inferiorem partem fluminis Rheni; spectant in septemtrionem et orientem solem. Aquitania a Garumna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani, quae est ad Hispaniam, pertinet; spectat inter occasum solis et septemtriones.

2. Apud Helvetios longe nobilissimus fuit et ditissimus Orgetorix. Is M. Messala et M. Pisone consulibus[1] regni cupiditate inductus conjurationem nobilitatis fecit et civitati persuasit, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis exirent: perfacile esse, cum virtute omnibus praestarent, totius Galliae imperio potiri. Id hoc facilius eis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Rheno, latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Jura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno[2] et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit. His rebus fiebat, ut et minus[3] late vagarentur et minus facile finitimis bellum inferre possent: qua de causa homines bellandi cupidi magno dolore afficiebantur. Pro multitudine[4] autem hominum et pro gloria belli atque fortitudinis angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur, qui in longitudinem milia passuum CCXL., in latitudinem CLXXX. patebant.

3. His rebus adducti et auctoritate Orgetorigis permoti constituerunt ea, quae ad proficiscendum pertinerent, comparare, jumentorum et carrorum quam maximum numerum coëmere, sementes quam maximas facere, ut in itinere copia frumenti suppeteret, cum proximis civitatibus[5] pacem et amicitiam confirmare. Ad eas res conficiendas biennium sibi satis esse duxerunt: in tertium annum profectionem lege confirmant. Ad eas res[6] conficiendas Orgetorix deligitur. Is sibi legationem ad civitates suscepit. In eo itinere persuadet Castico, Cata-

[1] That is, in the year B.C. 61, or three years before Caesar's arrival in Gaul.

[2] The *lacus Lemannus* is the lake of Geneva in Switzerland.

[3] That is, less than they could have wished.

[4] See chap. 29.

[5] That is, with the neighbouring states or communities of Gaul.

[6] *Eas res* here refers to all the before-mentioned points: the embassy he undertook himself (*sibi*); but the other matters he intrusted to the care of others.

mantaloedis filio, Sequano, cujus pater regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat et a senatu populi Romani amicus appellatus erat, ut regnum in civitate sua occuparet, quod pater ante habuerat; itemque Dumnorigi Aeduo, fratri Divitiaci, qui eo tempore principatum in civitate obtinebat ac maxime plebi acceptus erat, ut idem conaretur, persuadet eique filiam suam in matrimonium dat. Perfacile factu esse illis probat conata perficere, propterea quod ipse suae civitatis imperium obtenturus esset: non esse dubium, quin totius Galliae[1] plurimum Helvetii possent; se suis copiis[2] suoque exercitu illis regna conciliaturum confirmat. Hac oratione adducti[3] inter se fidem et jusjurandum dant et regno occupato per tres potentissimos ac firmissimos populos totius Galliae sese potiri posse sperant.

4. Ea res est Helvetiis per indicium enuntiata. Moribus suis Orgetorigem ex vinculis causam dicere coëgerunt.[4] Damnatum poenam sequi oportebat, ut igni cremaretur. Die constituta[5] causae dictionis Orgetorix ad judicium omnem suam familiam, ad hominum milia decem, undique coëgit, et omnes clientes obaeratosque suos, quorum magnum numerum habebat, eodem conduxit: per eos, ne causam diceret, se eripuit.[6] Cum civitas ob eam rem incitata armis jus suum exsequi conaretur, multitudinemque hominum ex agris magistratus cogerent, Orgetorix mortuus est; neque abest suspicio, ut Helvetii arbitrantur, quin ipse sibi mortem consciverit.

5. Post ejus mortem nihilo minus Helvetii id, quod constituerant, facere conantur,[7] ut e finibus suis exeant.[8] Ubi jam

[1] *Totius Galliae* may be taken either in the sense of *omnium Gallorum*, or it may be explained by the ellipsis of *populorum;* namely, *quin totius Galliae populorum plurimum Helvetii possent.*

[2] *Copiae* here signifies resources, including wealth and influence.

[3] Namely, Casticus, Dumnorix, and Orgetorix, each of whom hoped, by means of this conspiracy, to obtain regal power over his own countrymen.

[4] That is, they declared that he must appear in court, and make his defence in chains, for he seems to have been left at liberty until the day of his trial.

[5] *Die constituta* is the ablative of time, and not an ablat. absolute.

[6] He rescued himself.

[7] This shows that the Helvetii must have had other reasons for wanting to quit their country besides the mere desire of Orgetorix.

[8] The words *ut e finibus suis exeant*, are properly superfluous; they contain only the explanation of the words *id, quod;* but Caesar is fond of such apparently unnecessary explanations.

se ad eam rem paratos esse arbitrati sunt, oppida sua omnia, numero ad duodecim, vicos ad quadringentos, reliqua privata aedificia[1] incendunt, frumentum omne, praeterquam quod secum portaturi erant, comburunt, ut domum reditionis spe sublata paratiores ad omnia pericula subeunda essent, trium mensium molita cibaria sibi quemque domo efferre jubent. Persuadent Rauracis et Tulingis et Latobrigis finitimis, uti eodem usi consilio oppidis suis vicisque exustis una cum iis[2] proficiscantur, Boiosque, qui trans Rhenum incoluerant et in agrum Noricum[3] transierant Noreiamque[4] oppugnarant, receptos ad se socios sibi adsciscunt.

6. Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus[5] domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Juram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua[6] singuli carri ducerentur; mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile perpauci prohibere possent: alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper[7] pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque nonnullis locis vado transitur. Extremum oppidum Allobrogum est proximumque Helvetiorum finibus Geneva. Ex eo oppido pons ad Helvetios pertinet. Allobrogibus sese vel persuasuros, quod nondum bono animo in populum Romanum viderentur, existimabant, vel vi coacturos, ut per suos fines eos ire paterentur.[8] Omnibus rebus ad profectionem comparatis diem dicunt, qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes

[1] *Privata aedificia* must here be houses that stand apart from towns and villages, or country-houses.

[2] *Cum iis*, instead of *secum*.

[3] Is the territory between the Danube and the Alps.

[4] *Noreia* is believed by some to be the modern town of Goerz, and by others Nürnberg.

[5] The repetition of the noun to which the relative refers, is probably an imitation of legal phraseology, such as it occurred in laws, senatus consulta, and the like, and is found in all the classical writers, though most frequently in Caesar.

[6] *Qua vix* is the same as *ut ea* (namely, *parte* or *via*), whence the subjunctive *ducerentur*.

[7] There had lately been two wars against the Allobroges—one in B. C. 66, in which they were subdued by C. Calpurnius Piso (Cic. *ad Att.* i. 13); and the other at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy, in B. C. 63, when C. Pomptinus was governor of the province of Gaul.

[8] That is, *ut se per ipsorum fines ire paterentur.*

conveniant: is dies erat a. d. v. Kal. Aprilis L. Pisone, A. Gabinio consulibus.[1]

7. Caesari quum id nuntiatum esset, eos per provinciam nostram iter facere conari, maturat ab urbe proficisci et quam maximis potest itineribus in Galliam ulteriorem contendit et ad Genevam[2] pervenit. Provinciae toti quam maximum potest militum numerum imperat[3] (erat omnino in Gallia ulteriore legio una) pontem, qui erat ad Genevam,[4] jubet rescindi. Ubi de ejus adventu Helvetii certiores facti sunt, legatos ad eum mittunt nobilissimos civitatis, cujus legationis Nameius et Verudoctius principem locum obtinebant, qui dicerent sibi esse in animo sine ullo maleficio iter per provinciam facere, propterea quod aliud iter haberent nullum: rogare,[5] ut ejus voluntate id sibi facere liceat. Caesar, quod memoria tenebat L. Cassium consulem occisum exercitumque ejus ab Helvetiis pulsum et sub jugum missum,[6] concedendum non putabat, neque homines inimico animo data facultate per provinciam itineris faciundi temperaturos[7] ab injuria et maleficio existimabat: tamen, ut spatium intercedere posset,[8] dum milites, quos imperaverat, convenirent, legatis respondit diem[9] se ad deliberandum sumpturum: si quid vellent, ad Idus Aprilis[10] reverterentur.

8. Interea ea legione, quam secum habebat, militibusque, qui ex provincia convenerant, a lacu Lemanno, qui in flumen Rhodanum influit,[11] ad montem Juram, qui fines Sequanorum

[1] That is, the 27th of March B. C. 58, the year in which Caesar arrived in Gaul, in the early part of April.

[2] *Ad Genevam*; that is, in the neighbourhood of Geneva; *ad* being here the same as *apud*.

[3] *Provinciae imperat*, he commands the province to furnish as large a number of soldiers as it can muster.

[4] That is, across the river Rhodanus or Rhone.

[5] *Rogare*, namely, *se*.

[6] This had happened in B. C. 107. See Livy, *Epit. lib.* 65.

[7] That they would be temperate, and abstain from, &c.

[8] Namely, between the present moment, and the time when he meant to attack the Helvetii.

[9] *Dies* in the singular is both masculine and feminine; but in the plural it is always masculine.

[10] That is, on the 13th of April. By *si quid vellent* Caesar pretends not to know what they were about.

[11] We do not say that a lake through which a river flows, flows into the river, but that the river flows into the lake. But Caesar seems to

ab Helvetiis dividit, milia passuum decem novem murum in altitudinem pedum sedecim fossamque perducit. Eo opere perfecto praesidia disponit, castella communit, quo facilius, si se invito transire conarentur, prohibere possit. Ubi ea dies, quam constituerat cum legatis, venit, et legati ad eum reverterunt, negat se more et exemplo populi Romani posse iter ulli per provinciam dare, et si vim facere conentur, prohibiturum ostendit. Helvetii ea spe dejecti navibus junctis ratibusque compluribus factis, alii[1] vadis Rhodani, qua minima altitudo fluminis erat, nonnunquam interdiu, saepius noctu, si perrumpere possent, conati operis munitione et militum concursu et telis repulsi hoc conatu destiterunt.

9. Relinquebatur una per Sequanos via, qua Sequanis invitis propter angustias ire non poterant. His cum sua sponte[2] persuadere non possent, legatos ad Dumnorigem Aeduum mittunt, ut eo deprecatore[3] a Sequanis impetrarent. Dumnorix gratia et largitione apud Sequanos plurimum poterat et Helvetiis erat amicus, quod ex ea civitate Orgetorigis filiam in matrimonium duxerat, et cupiditate regni adductus novis rebus studebat et quam plurimas civitates suo beneficio habere obstrictas volebat. Itaque rem suscipit et a Sequanis impetrat, ut per fines suos Helvetios ire patiantur, obsidesque uti inter sese dent perficit: Sequani, ne itinere Helvetios prohibeant; Helvetii, ut sine maleficio et injuria transeant.

10. Caesari renuntiatur Helvetiis esse in animo per agrum Sequanorum et Aeduorum iter in Santonum[4] fines facere, qui

have had in view the point at which the river comes out of the lake, and where a portion of the water of the lake flows out along with the river, and accordingly into the river. Compare vii. 57.

[1] *Alii*, which is neither preceded nor followed by another *alii*, must mean 'some,' or 'a few;' so that the meaning is: the Helvetii generally, or most of them, tried to cross by boats, but some tried to ford the river.

[2] *Sua sponte*, by themselves, or by the means they had at their command.

[3] *Deprecator* is a person who prays that a thing may *not* be done; so that the meaning here is, that he might pray the Sequani not to prevent them.

[4] The *Santones* or *Santoni* inhabited the district to the north of the mouth of the river Garumna (Garonne), and the town of Tolosa (Toulouse) was situated on the upper part of the Garumna, and at a considerable distance from the Santones; but Caesar's object is to make out that the province was in great danger, and for this reason he exaggerates.

non longe a Tolosatium finibus absunt, quae civitas est in provincia. Id si fieret, intelligebat magno cum periculo provinciae futurum, ut homines bellicosos, populi Romani inimicos, locis patentibus maximeque frumentariis finitimos haberet. Ob eas causas[1] ei munitioni, quam fecerat, T. Labienum[2] legatum prefecit; ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit duasque ibi legiones conscribit et tres, quae circum Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit et qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges locis superioribus occupatis itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his proeliis pulsis ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciae[3] extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciae die septimo pervenit, inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.

11. Helvetii jam per angustias et fines Sequanorum suas copias traduxerant et in Aeduorum fines pervenerant eorumque agros populabantur. Aedui, quum se suaque ab iis defendere non possent, legatos ad Caesarem mittunt rogatum auxilium: ita se omni tempore[4] de populo Romano meritos esse, ut paene in conspectu exercitus nostri agri vastari, liberi eorum in servitutem abduci, oppida expugnari non debuerint. Eodem tempore Aedui Ambarri,[5] necessarii et consanguinei Aeduorum, Caesarem certiorem faciunt sese depopulatis agris non facile ab oppidis vim hostium prohibere. Item Allobroges, qui trans Rhodanum vicos possessionesque habebant, fuga se ad Caesarem recipiunt et demonstrant sibi praeter agri solum

[1] There was, properly speaking, only one cause—namely, the danger of the province; but that danger, again, arose from *several* causes, which Caesar has mentioned.

[2] This man had been tribune of the people in B.C. 63, and a strong partisan of Caesar; but afterwards, during the civil war, he was among his bitterest opponents.

[3] *Provincia citerior* is Gallia Cisalpina, in the north of Italy, where the town of Ocelum was situated, at the very foot of the Alps. The *ulterior provincia* was the Roman province of Gaul beyond the Alps, and the same which is commonly called simply *provincia* or *nostra provincia*. See chap. 1.

[4] Namely, ever since they had been allied with the Romans. The Aedui were the first among the Gauls that entered into a friendly relation with the Romans, but at what time is not known.

[5] That is, the Ambarri, who belonged and were related to the Aedui.

nihil esse reliqui. Quibus rebus adductus Caesar non exspectandum sibi statuit, dum omnibus fortunis sociorum consumptis in Santonos Helvetii pervenirent.

12. Flumen est Arar,[1] quod per fines Aeduorum et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utram partem fluat, judicari non possit. Id Helvetii ratibus ac lintribus junctis transibant. Ubi per exploratores Caesar certior factus est tres jam partes copiarum Helvetios id flumen traduxisse, quartam vero partem citra flumen Ararim reliquam esse, de[2] tertia vigilia cum legionibus tribus e castris[3] profectus ad eam partem pervenit, quae nondum flumen transierat. Eos impeditos et inopinantes adgressus magnam partem eorum concidit: reliqui sese fugae mandarunt atque in proximas silvas abdiderunt. Is pagus appellabatur Tigurinus; nam omnis civitas Helvetia in quatuor pagos divisa est. Hic pagus unus, cum domo exisset, patrum nostrorum memoria L. Cassium consulem interfecerat et ejus exercitum sub jugum miserat.[4] Ita sive casu, sive consilio deorum inmortalium, quae pars civitatis Helvetiae insignem calamitatem populo Romano intulerat, ea princeps poenas persolvit. Qua in re Caesar non solum publicas, sed etiam privatas injurias ultus est, quod ejus soceri L. Pisonis[5] avum, L. Pisonem legatum, Tigurini eodem proelio, quo Cassium interfecerant.

13. Hoc proelio facto reliquas copias Helvetiorum ut consequi posset, pontem in Arare faciendum curat atque ita exercitum traducit. Helvetii repentino ejus adventu commoti, cum id, quod ipsi diebus XX. aegerrime confecerant, ut flumen transirent, illum uno die fecisse intelligerent, legatos ad eum

[1] The river Arar is the modern Saone, which flows into the Rhone at Lyons. It formed, to a considerable extent, the boundary between the Sequani and Aedui, whence *fines* here has its proper meaning, 'boundary.'

[2] *De*, when joined with words expressing time, indicates that a part of the time indicated is already spent. Hence Caesar here set out before the third watch was at an end. The Romans divided their nights into four *vigiliae*, which differed in length according to the season of the year.

[3] He had pitched his head-quarters in the territory of the Segusiani, between the Rhone and Saone. See chap. 10, in fin.

[4] See chap. 7.

[5] Caesar, in B. C. 59, had married Calpurnia, the daughter of Lucius Piso, consul in B. C. 58. The Piso who had been defeated by the Tigurini was the grandfather of Caesar's father-in-law.

mittunt, cujus legationis Divico princeps fuit, qui bello Cassiano dux Helvetiorum fuerat. Is ita cum Caesare egit: si pacem populus Romanus cum Helvetiis faceret, in eam partem ituros atque ibi futuros Helvetios, ubi eos Caesar constituisset atque esse voluisset: sin bello persequi perseveraret, reminisceretur[1] et veteris incommodi populi Romani et pristinae virtutis Helvetiorum. Quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset, cum hi, qui flumen transissent, suis auxilium ferre non possent, ne ob eam rem aut suae magnopere virtuti tribueret,[2] aut ipsos despiceret: se ita a patribus majoribusque suis didicisse, ut magis virtute, quam dolo contenderent aut insidiis niterentur. Quare ne committeret, ut is locus, ubi constitissent,[3] ex calamitate populi Romani et internicione exercitus nomen caperet aut memoriam proderet.

14. His[4] Caesar ita respondit: Eo sibi minus dubitationis dari, quod eas res, quas legati Helvetii commemorassent, memoria teneret, atque eo gravius ferre, quo minus merito populi Romani accidissent: qui si alicujus[5] injuriae sibi conscius fuisset, non fuisse difficile cavere; sed eo deceptum, quod neque commissum a se intelligeret, quare timeret, neque sine causa timendum putaret. Quod si veteris contumeliae oblivisci vellet, num etiam recentium injuriarum, quod eo invito iter per provinciam per vim tentassent, quod Aeduos, quod Ambarros, quod Allobrogas vexassent, memoriam deponere posse?[6] Quod sua victoria tam insolenter gloriarentur[7] quodque

[1] The subjunctive *reminisceretur* is dependent upon *ut* understood; the verb *egit* implying the notion of 'requesting him to remember.' The *ne* in the following sentence is likewise connected with the notion of requesting, and the construction is: *ne tribueret suae virtuti aut ipsos despiceret, quod improviso unum pagum adortus esset.* But these subjunctives may also be considered as representatives of the imperative in indirect speech. Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 603.

[2] Namely, the success with which his undertaking had been crowned.

[3] Namely, the Helvetii who had not yet crossed the Saone.

[4] That is, to those things which had been said by Divico.

[5] According to the common grammatical rule, it should have been *si cujus;* but the *ali* here has a peculiar force, and is emphatic: 'if they had been conscious of *any* act of injustice ever so trifling.' Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 708.

[6] Infinitives of this kind in interrogations and relative clauses occur frequently. Comp. v. 28, and Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 603.

[7] There is not much boasting in the speech of Divico, as above quoted; but Caesar has given only the substance of it, and it must be supposed that, in the actual speech, the boasting was much more striking. The same holds good in regard to the admiration with which Divico is said to have mentioned the forbearance of his countrymen.

tam diu se impune injurias tulisse admirarentur, eodem pertinere.[1] Consuesse enim deos immortales, quo[2] gravius homines ex commutatione rerum doleant, quos pro scelere eorum ulcisci velint, his secundiores interdum res et diuturniorem impunitatem concedere. Cum[3] ea ita sint, tamen, si obsides ab iis sibi dentur, uti ea, quae polliceantur, facturos intellegat, et si Aeduis de injuriis, quas ipsis sociisque eorum intulerint, item si Allobrogibus satisfaciant, sese cum iis pacem esse facturum. Divico respondit: ita Helvetios a majoribus suis institutos esse, uti obsides accipere, non dare, consuerint: ejus rei populum Romanum esse testem. Hoc responso dato discessit.

15. Postero die castra ex eo loco movent. Idem facit Caesar equitatumque omnem, ad numerum quatuor milium, quem ex omni provincia et Aeduis atque eorum sociis coactum habebat, praemittit, qui videant, quas in partes hostes iter faciant. Qui cupidius novissimum agmen insecuti alieno loco cum equitatu Helvetiorum proelium committunt; et[4] pauci de nostris cadunt. Quo proelio sublati Helvetii, quod quingentis equitibus tantam multitudinem equitum propulerant, audacius subsistere, nonnunquam et novissimo agmine proelio nostros lacessere coeperunt. Caesar suos a proelio continebat ac satis habebat in praesentia hostem rapinis, pabulationibus populationibusque prohibere. Ita dies circiter quindecim iter fecerunt, uti inter novissimum hostium agmen et nostrum primum non amplius quinis aut senis milibus passuum interesset.

16. Interim quotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum, quod essent publice polliciti, flagitare.[5] Nam propter frigora,[6] quod Gallia sub septemtrionibus, ut ante dictum est, posita est, non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem satis magna copia subpetebat: eo autem frumento, quod

[1] Tended to the same end—namely, to show the way in which the gods conducted the affairs of men.

[2] After *quo* there should follow *eo secundiores*, but the *eo* is often omitted by the best writers.

[3] That is, 'although.'

[4] *Et* here signifies 'and there,' the *et* being rather emphatic.

[5] *Flagitare*, commonly called the historical infinitive for *flagitabat;* but it should be called a *descriptive infinitive.*

[6] Caesar here speaks of the great cold in Gaul, though it must have been the month of July; but we must remember that the calendar at that time was in such confusion, that the month of June answered to our April.

flumine Arare navibus subvexerat, propterea uti minus poterat, quod iter ab Arare Helvetii averterant, a quibus discedere nolebat. Diem ex die ducere[1] Aedui: conferri, comportari, adesse dicere. Ubi se diutius[2] duci intellexit et diem instare, quo die frumentum militibus metiri oporteret, convocatis eorum principibus, quorum magnam copiam in castris habebat, in his Divitiaco et Lisco, qui summo magistratui praeerat, (quem[3] Vergobretum appellant Aedui, qui creatur annuus et vitae necisque in suos habet potestatem), graviter eos accusat, quod, cum neque emi neque ex agris sumi posset, tam necessario tempore, tam propinquis hostibus, ab iis non sublevetur, praesertim cum magna ex parte eorum precibus adductus bellum susceperit; multo etiam gravius, quod sit destitutus, queritur.

17. Tum demum Liscus oratione Caesaris adductus quod antea tacuerat, proponit: esse nonnullos, quorum auctoritas apud plebem plurimum valeat, qui privatim plus possint, quam ipsi magistratus. Hos seditiosa atque improba oratione multitudinem deterrere, ne frumentum conferant: quod praestare debeat,[4] si jam principatum Galliae obtinere non possent,[5] Gallorum, quam Romanorum imperia perferre; neque dubitare debeant, quin, si Helvetios superaverint Romani, una cum reliqua Gallia Aeduis libertatem sint erepturi. Ab eisdem nostra consilia quaeque in castris gerantur hostibus enuntiari: hos a se coërceri non posse. Quin etiam quod necessario rem coactus Caesari enuntiarit, intelligere sese, quanto id cum periculo fecerit, et ob eam causam quam diu potuerit, tacuisse.

18. Caesar hac oratione Lisci Dumnorigem, Divitiaci fratrem, designari sentiebat, sed quod pluribus praesentibus eas res jactari nolebat, celeriter concilium dimittit, Liscum retinet: quaerit ex solo ea, quae in conventu dixerat. Dicit

[1] Namely, *Caesarem;* they kept Caesar waiting, or rather led him to expect that which he did not receive.

[2] Namely, than he thought right.

[3] *Quem* does not refer to the magistracy, but to the person invested with it.

[4] 'Because it must be preferable (they say) to bear the sway of the Gauls, than that of the Romans.'

[5] The sense implied in this imperfect is, that the Aedui might possibly still obtain the supremacy. There is no need for changing *possent* into *possint.*

liberius atque audacius. Eadem secreto ab aliis quaerit; reperit esse vera: ipsum esse Dumnorigem, summa audacia, magna apud plebem propter liberalitatem gratia, cupidum rerum novarum: complures annos portoria reliquaque omnia Aeduorum vectigalia parvo pretio redempta habere, propterea quod illo licente contra liceri audeat nemo. His rebus et suam rem familiarem auxisse et facultates ad largiendum magnas comparasse; magnum numerum equitatus suo sumptu semper alere et circum se habere, neque solum domi, sed etiam apud finitimas civitates largiter posse[1] atque hujus potentiae[2] causa matrem in Biturigibus homini illic nobilissimo ac potentissimo collocasse, ipsum ex Helvetiis uxorem habere, sororem ex matre et propinquas suas nuptum in alias civitates collocasse.[3] Favere et cupere Helvetiis propter eam adfinitatem, odisse etiam suo nomine[4] Caesarem et Romanos, quod eorum adventu potentia ejus deminuta et Divitiacus frater in antiquum locum gratiae atque honoris sit restitutus. Si quid accidat Romanis, summam in spem per Helvetios regni obtinendi venire: imperio populi Romani non modo de regno, sed etiam de ea, quam habeat, gratia desperare. Reperiebat etiam in quaerendo Caesar, quod proelium equestre adversum paucis ante diebus esset factum, initium ejus fugae[5] factum a Dumnorige atque ejus equitibus (nam equitatui, quem auxilio Caesari Aedui miserant, Dumnorix praeerat), eorum fuga reliquum esse equitatum perterritum.

19. Quibus rebus cognitis, cum ad has suspiciones certissimae res accederent, quod per fines Sequanorum Helvetios traduxisset, quod obsides inter eos dandos curasset, quod ea omnia non modo injussu suo et civitatis, sed etiam inscientibus ipsis fecisset, quod a magistratu Aeduorum accusaretur, satis esse causae arbitrabatur, quare in eum aut ipse animadverteret, aut civitatem animadvertere juberet. His omnibus rebus[6] unum repugnabat, quod Divitiaci fratris summum in

[1] *Largiter posse*, to have great influence.

[2] Namely, *augendae*.

[3] *Collocare in*, commonly with the ablative, as above; but here the accus. shows that *collocare* also implies the notion of 'sending.'

[4] 'On his own private account.'

[5] *Fuga* is here used for *proelium*, the main point of the battle here to be considered being the flight.

[6] Namely, which led to the conclusion that Dumnorix must be

populum Romanum studium, summam in se voluntatem, egregiam fidem, justitiam, temperantiam cognoverat; nam ne ejus supplicio Divitiaci animum offenderet, verebatur. Itaque prius, quam quicquam conaretur, Divitiacum ad se vocari jubet et quotidianis interpretibus remotis per C. Valerium Procillum, principem[1] Galliae provinciae, familiarem suum, cui summam omnium rerum fidem[2] habebat, cum eo colloquitur: simul commonefacit, quae ipso praesente in concilio Gallorum de Dumnorige sint dicta, et ostendit, quae separatim quisque de eo apud se dixerit. Petit atque hortatur, ut sine ejus offensione animi vel ipse de eo causa cognita statuat, vel civitatem statuere jubeat.

20. Divitiacus multis cum lacrimis Caesarem complexus obsecrare coepit, ne quid gravius in fratrem statueret: scire se illa esse vera, nec quemquam ex eo plus, quam se, doloris capere, propterea quod, cum ipse gratia plurimum domi atque in reliqua Gallia, ille minimum propter adolescentiam posset, per se crevisset: quibus opibus ac nervis non solum ad minuendam gratiam, sed paene ad perniciem suam uteretur. Sese tamen et amore fraterno et existimatione vulgi commoveri.[3] Quod si quid ei a[4] Caesare gravius accidisset, cum ipse eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret, neminem existimaturum non sua voluntate factum; qua ex re futurum, uti totius Galliae animi a se averterentur. Haec cum pluribus verbis flens a Caesare peteret, Caesar ejus dextram prendit; consolatus rogat, finem orandi faciat; tanti ejus apud se gratiam esse ostendit, uti et rei publicae injuriam et suum dolorem ejus voluntati ac precibus condonet. Dumnorigem ad se vocat, fratrem adhibet; quae in eo reprehendat, ostendit, quae ipse intelligat, quae civitas queratur, proponit; monet, ut in reliquum tempus omnes suspiciones vitet; praeterita se Divitiaco fratri condonare dicit. Dumnorigi custodes ponit, ut, quae agat, quibuscum loquatur, scire possit.

21. Eodem die ab exploratoribus certior factus hostes sub

punished; but there was one circumstance which was against (*repugnabat*) this conclusion.

1 'A leading man.' Comp. chap. 53.

2 *Fides omnium rerum*, confidence in regard to all things.

3 Namely, to intercede on his behalf.

4 The praeposition *a* here does not denote the agent, but the cause or place from which the punishment is conceived to come.

monte consedisse milia passuum ab ipsius castris octo, qualis esset natura montis et qualis in circuitu ascensus qui cognoscerent misit. Renuntiatum est facilem esse.[1] De tertia vigilia Titum Labienum[2] legatum pro praetore cum duabus legionibus et iis ducibus, qui iter cognoverant, summum jugum montis ascendere jubet; quid sui consilii sit, ostendit. Ipse de quarta vigilia eodem itinere, quo hostes ierant, ad eos contendit equitatumque omnem ante se mittit. P. Considius, qui rei militaris peritissimus habebatur et in exercitu L. Sullae et postea in M. Crassi fuerat, cum exploratoribus praemittitur.

22. Prima luce,[3] quum summus mons a T. Labieno teneretur, ipse ab hostium castris non longius mille et quingentis passibus abesset, neque, ut postea ex captivis comperit, aut ipsius adventus, aut Labieni cognitus esset, Considius equo admisso ad eum accurrit, dicit montem, quem a Labieno occupari voluerit, ab hostibus teneri: id se a Gallicis armis atque insignibus[4] cognovisse. Caesar suas copias in proximum collem subducit, aciem instruit. Labienus, ut erat ei praeceptum a Caesare, ne proelium committeret, nisi ipsius copiae prope hostium castra visae essent, ut undique uno tempore in hostes impetus fieret, monte occupato nostros exspectabat proelioque abstinebat. Multo denique die[5] per exploratores Caesar cognovit et montem a suis teneri et Helvetios castra movisse et Considium timore perterritum quod non vidisset pro viso sibi renuntiasse. Eo die quo consuerat intervallo[6] hostes sequitur et milia passuum tria ab eorum castris castra ponit.

[1] Namely, *ascensum*, for in this answer, the other, respecting the natural structure of the mountain, is implied.

[2] T. Labienus is the principal one among the legates or lieutenants of Caesar, whose place he takes whenever Caesar is absent; and for this reason he is distinguished by the honorary title of *propraetor*. See chap. 54.

[3] *Prima lux*. In this, as in many other cases, the adjective does not apply to the entire thing expressed by the substantive, but only to a part of it. Hence, *prima lux* is *the first part* of the day. Compare *summus mons*, *primo vere*, *primum agmen*, *novissimum agmen*, *colle medio*, *multa nocte*, &c.

[4] The *insignia* here are the ornaments of the armour, as of the helmets, &c. See. ii. 21.

[5] That is, 'when a great part of the day had already passed away.' See chap. 26, and iii. 26, vii. 28.

[6] As is described at the end of chap. 15.

23. Postridie ejus diei,[1] quod omnino biduum supererat, cum exercitui frumentum metiri oporteret, et quod a Bibracte,[2] oppido Aeduorum longe maximo et copiosissimo, non amplius milibus passuum XVIII. aberat, rei frumentariae prospiciendum existimavit, iter ab Helvetiis avertit ac Bibracte ire contendit. Ea res per fugitivos[3] L. Aemilii, decurionis equitum Gallorum, hostibus nuntiatur. Helvetii, seu quod timore perterritos Romanos discedere a se existimarent, eo magis, quod pridie superioribus locis occupatis proelium non commisissent, sive eo, quod re frumentaria intercludi posse confiderent, commutato consilio atque itinere converso nostros a novissimo agmine insequi ac lacessere coeperunt.

24. Postquam id animum advertit,[4] copias suas Caesar in proximum collem subducit[5] equitatumque, qui sustineret hostium impetum, misit. Ipse interim in colle medio triplicem aciem instruxit legionum quatuor veteranorum, ita, uti supra; sed in summo jugo duas legiones, quas in Gallia citeriore proxime conscripserat, et omnia auxilia collocari ac totum montem hominibus compleri et interea sarcinas in unum locum conferri et eum ab his, qui in superiore acie constiterant, muniri jussit. Helvetii cum omnibus suis carris secuti impedimenta in unum locum contulerunt, ipsi confertissima acie rejecto nostro equitatu phalange[6] facta sub primam nostram aciem successerunt.

25. Caesar primum suo, deinde omnium[7] ex conspectu remo-

[1] The words *ejus diei* are to us superfluous; and the expression is of the same kind as *eo die, quo die.* See chap. 5, note 8.

[2] A town between the Saone and Loire, was afterwards called *Augustodunum*, whence its modern name *Autun* is derived.

[3] They were Gallic auxiliaries, who had served in the Roman cavalry, but had now deserted for the purpose of returning home, and not of serving in the ranks of the Helvetii; for in this case they would have been called *perfugae* or *transfugae*, and not *fugitivi.*

[4] *Animum advertit* is the same as *animadvertit;* the accus. *id* being dependent on *ad* in *advertit.*

[5] *Subducit—misit;* the present is descriptive of the action in its progress, the perfect simply states a fact.

[6] The *phalanx*, which the Helvetii had adopted from the Germans, consisted of a dense mass of soldiers holding their shields over their heads, so as to form a roof.

[7] Not of all the horsemen, but merely of all persons of distinction, such as the legates, tribunes, and young Romans who composed the suite of Caesar.

tis equis, ut aequato omnium periculo spem fugae tolleret, cohortatus suos proelium commisit. Milites e loco superiore pilis missis facile hostium phalangem perfregerunt. Ea disjecta gladiis destrictis in eos impetum fecerunt. Gallis magno ad pugnam erat impedimento, quod pluribus eorum scutis uno ictu pilorum transfixis et colligatis, cum ferrum se inflexisset, neque evellere neque sinistra impedita satis commode pugnare poterant; multi ut diu jactato brachio praeoptarent scutum manu emittere et nudo corpore pugnare. Tandem vulneribus defessi et pedem referre et, quod mons suberat[1] circiter mille passuum, eo se recipere coeperunt. Capto monte et succedentibus nostris Boii et Tulingi, qui hominum milibus circiter XV. agmen hostium claudebant et novissimis praesidio erant, ex itinere nostros latere aperto adgressi circumvenere, et id conspicati Helvetii, qui in montem sese receperant, rursus instare et proelium redintegrare coeperunt. Romani conversa signa bipartito intulerunt: prima et secunda acies, ut victis ac summotis resisteret, tertia, ut venientes sustineret.

26. Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt, alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt: nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros objecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela conjiciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras[2] ac tragulas subjiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX. superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt: nullam partem noctis itinere intermisso in fines Lingonum[3] die

[1] *Suberat*, 'was near;' the distance between them and the mountain was about one thousand paces. The genit. *passuum* depends upon *mille*, which is sometimes used as a substantive in the singular also. Cic. *p. Mil.* 20, *Philip.* vi. 5.

[2] *Matara*, or, as some have it, *materis*, is a Celtic word, signifying a javelin or lance. The *tragula* was likewise a sort of javelin, thrown by means of a thong. It was used by the Spaniards, Gauls, and Britons.

[3] The Lingones inhabited the country to the north-east of the Aedui, about the sources of the rivers Seine and Marne.

quarto pervenerunt, quum et propter vulnera militum et propter sepulturam occisorum nostri triduum morati eos sequi non potuissent. Caesar ad Lingonas literas nuntiosque misit, ne eos frumento neve alia re juvarent: qui si juvissent, se eodem loco, quo Helvetios, habiturum. Ipse triduo intermisso cum omnibus copiis eos sequi coepit.

27. Helvetii omnium rerum inopia adducti legatos de deditione ad eum miserunt. Qui cum eum in itinere convenissent seque ad pedes projecissent suppliciterque locuti flentes pacem petissent, atque eos in eo loco, quo tum essent, suum adventum exspectare jussisset,[1] paruerunt. Eo postquam Caesar pervenit, obsides, arma, servos, qui ad eos perfugissent, poposcit. Dum ea[2] conquiruntur et conferuntur, nocte intermissa[3] circiter hominum milia VI. ejus pagi, qui Verbigenus appellatur, sive timore perterriti, ne armis traditis supplicio afficerentur, sive spe salutis inducti, quod in tanta multitudine dediticiorum suam fugam aut occultari, aut omnino ignorari posse existimarent, prima nocte e castris Helvetiorum egressi ad Rhenum finesque Germanorum contenderunt.

28. Quod ubi Caesar resciit, quorum per fines ierant,[4] his, uti conquirerent et reducerent, si sibi purgati esse vellent, imperavit: reductos in hostium numero habuit: reliquos omnes obsidibus, armis, perfugis traditis in deditionem accepit.[5] Helvetios, Tulingos, Latobrigos in fines suos, unde erant profecti, reverti jussit, et quod omnibus frugibus amissis domi nihil erat, quo famem tolerarent, Allobrogibus imperavit, ut his frumenti copiam facerent:[6] ipsos oppida vicosque, quos incenderant, restituere jussit. Id ea maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserant, vacare, ne propter bonitatem agrorum Germani, qui trans Rhenum inco-

[1] The subject of *jussisset* is Caesar, although in the first part of the sentence the subject is Helvetii.

[2] The *ea* here comprises the men as well as the arms. Compare chap. 29.

[3] In the night which came between the promise and the actual surrender; that is, in the night following, or after they had made their promise.

[4] *Ierant;* that is, *ire coeperant*, for otherwise the words *conquirerent* and *reducerent* could have no sense.

[5] He received them as they surrendered to him at discretion.

[6] *Copiam facere* means, 'to have plenty, and make others partake of it.'

lunt, e suis finibus in Helvetiorum fines transirent et finitimi Galliae provinciae Allobrogibusque essent. Boios petentibus Aeduis, quod egregia virtute erant cogniti, ut in finibus suis collocarent, concessit;[1] quibus illi agros[2] dederunt quosque postea in parem juris libertatisque conditionem atque ipsi erant, receperunt.

29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulae repertae sunt litteris Graecis[3] confectae et ad Caesarem relatae, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus domo exisset eorum, qui arma ferre possent, et item separatim pueri, senes mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum[4] summa erat capitum Helvetiorum milia CCLXIII., Tulingorum milia XXXVI., Latobrigorum XIV., Rauracorum XXIII., Boiorum XXXII.: ex his, qui arma ferre possent, ad milia LXXXXII. Summa omnium fuerunt ad milia CCCLXVIII. Eorum, qui domum redierunt, censu habito, ut Caesar imperaverat, repertus est numerus milium C. et X.

30. Bello Helvetiorum confecto totius fere Galliae[5] legati, principes civitatum, ad Caesarem gratulatum convenerunt: intelligere sese, tametsi pro veteribus Helvetiorum injuriis populi Romani[6] ab his poenas bello repetisset, tamen eam rem non minus ex usu terrae Galliae quam populi Romani accidisse; propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus domos suas Helvetii reliquissent, uti toti Galliae bellum inferrent imperioque potirentur locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent. Petierunt, uti sibi concilium totius Galliae in diem

[1] Construe: *Concessit Aequis petentibus, ut collocarent Boios in finibus suis, quod egregia*, &c.

[2] The district between the rivers Liger (Loire) and Elaver (Allier), near their confluence. See vii. 9.

[3] The Helvetii, as well as other Gallic tribes, used the Greek alphabet in their writings; they had probably become acquainted with it through the inhabitants of Massilia, a Greek colony in the south of Gaul. Compare vi. 14.

[4] *Rerum* is here used in the sense of men, as in chap. 27 *ea* comprised both men and arms.

[5] That is, Gallia, in the narrower sense of the word, or Celtica, the third of the three divisions of Gaul.

[6] Is the objective genitive: 'the wrongs which the Helvetii had done *to* the Roman people.'

certam indicere idque Caesaris voluntate facere liceret: sese habere quasdam res, quas ex communi consensu ab eo petere vellent. Ea re permissa diem concilio constituerunt et[1] jurejurando ne quis enuntiaret, nisi quibus communi consilio mandatum esset, inter se sanxerunt.

31. Eo concilio dimisso iidem principes civitatum, qui ante fuerant[2] ad Caesarem, reverterunt petieruntque, uti sibi secreto in occulto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret. Ea re impetrata sese omnes flentes Caesari ad pedes projecerunt: Non minus se id contendere et laborare, ne ea, quae dixissent, enuntiarentur, quam uti ea, quae vellent, impetrarent; propterea quod, si enuntiatum esset, summum in cruciatum se venturos viderent. Locutus est pro his Divitiacus Aeduus: Galliae totius factiones[3] esse duas: harum alterius principatum tenere Aeduos, alterius Arvernos. Hi cum tantopere de potentatu inter se multos annos contenderent, factum esse, uti ab Arvernis Sequanisque Germani mercede arcesserentur. Horum primo circiter milia XV. Rhenum transisse: posteaquam agros et cultum et copias Gallorum homines feri ac barbari adamassent, traductos plures: nunc esse in Gallia ad C. et XX. milium numerum. Cum his Aeduos eorumque clientes semel atque iterum[4] armis contendisse; magnam calamitatem pulsos accepisse, omnem nobilitatem, omnem senatum, omnem equitatum amisisse. Quibus proeliis calamitatibusque fractos, qui et sua virtute et populi Romani hospitio[5] atque amicitia plurimum ante in Gallia potuissent, coactos esse Sequanis obsides dare, nobilissimos civitatis, et jurejurando civitatem obstringere, sese neque obsides repetituros neque

[1] Namely, *in eo concilio*, and when the meeting was assembled, they all took an oath that no one should divulge the subject discussed in it, &c.

[2] *Fuerant ad.* The verb *esse* here contains the idea of coming, whence it is followed by *ad.* Compare Cic. *ad Att.* x. 16.

[3] *Factiones* here are not factions in our sense, but the two great political parties which divided Gaul. The Aedui had formerly had a kind of supremacy over all the Gauls, similar to that of the Lacedaemonians over all the Greeks. But afterwards, the Arverni, supported by the Sequani, and assisted by German mercenaries, had assumed the supremacy. See vi. 12, vii. 4.

[4] *Semel atque iterum*—'again and again.'

[5] The relation of hospitality existed in ancient times, not only between individuals, but also between states, and between individuals and states. See vi. 5, vii. 75.

auxilium a populo Romano imploraturos neque recusaturos, quo minus perpetuo sub illorum ditione atque imperio essent. Unum se esse ex omni civitate Aeduorum, qui adduci non potuerit, ut juraret aut liberos suos obsides daret. Ob eam rem se ex civitate profugisse et Romam ad senatum venisse auxilium postulatum,[1] quod solus neque jurejurando neque obsidibus teneretur. Sed pejus[2] victoribus Sequanis, quam Aeduis victis accidisse; propterea quod Ariovistus, rex Germanorum, in eorum finibus consedisset tertiamque partem agri Sequani, qui esset optimus totius Galliae, occupavisset et nunc de altera parte tertia Sequanos decedere juberet, propterea quod paucis mensibus ante Harudum[3] milia hominum XXIV. ad eum venissent, quibus locus ac sedes pararentur. Futurum esse paucis annis uti omnes[4] ex Galliae finibus pellerentur, atque omnes Germani Rhenum transirent: neque enim conferendum esse Gallicum cum Germanorum agro, neque hanc consuetudinem victus cum illa comparandam. Ariovistum autem, ut semel Gallorum copias proelio vicerit, quod proelium factum sit ad Magetobriam, superbe et crudeliter imperare, obsides nobilissimi cujusque liberos poscere et in eos omnia exempla cruciatusque[5] edere, si qua res non ad nutum aut ad voluntatem ejus facta sit. Hominem esse barbarum, iracundum, temerarium: non posse ejus imperia diutius sustinere. Nisi quid in Caesare populoque Romano sit auxilii, omnibus Gallis idem esse faciendum, quod Helvetii fecerint, ut domo emigrent, aliud domicilium, alias sedes, remotas a Germanis, petant fortunamque, quaecunque accidat, experiantur. Haec si enuntiata Ariovisto sint, non dubitare, quin de omnibus obsidibus, qui apud eum sint, gravissimum supplicium sumat. Caesarem vel auctoritate sua atque exercitus, vel recenti victoria, vel nomine populi Romani deterrere posse, ne major multitudo Germanorum Rhenum traducatur, Galliamque omnem ab Ariovisti injuria posse defendere.

[1] See vi. 12.

[2] *Pejus* here signifies 'a worse thing.'

[3] *Harudum* is not to be joined as an adjective to *hominum*, but is the genitive of Harudes, governed by *hominum*.

[4] Namely, *Galli*.

[5] *Cruciatus* is merely an explanation of the term *exempla*, the examples he made consisting in the infliction of cruel tortures.

32. Hac oratione ab Divitiaco habita omnes, qui aderant, magno fletu auxilium a Caesare petere coeperunt. Animadvertit Caesar unos ex omnibus Sequanos nihil earum rerum facere, quas ceteri facerent, sed tristes capite demisso terram intueri. Ejus rei quae causa esset, miratus ex ipsis quaesiit. Nihil Sequani respondere,[1] sed in eadem tristitia taciti permanere. Cum ab his saepius quaereret neque ullam omnino vocem exprimere posset, idem Divitiacus Aeduus respondit: hoc[2] esse miseriorem et graviorem fortunam Sequanorum, quam reliquorum, quod soli ne in occulto quidem queri neque auxilium implorare auderent, absentisque Ariovisti crudelitatem, velut si coram adesset, horrerent; propterea quod reliquis tamen[3] fugae facultas daretur, Sequanis vero, qui intra fines suos Ariovistum recepissent, quorum oppida omnia in potestate ejus essent, omnes cruciatus essent perferendi.

33. His rebus cognitis Caesar Gallorum animos verbis confirmavit pollicitusque est sibi eam rem curae futuram: magnam se habere spem et beneficio[4] suo et auctoritate adductum Ariovistum finem injuriis facturum. Hac oratione habita concilium dimisit. Et secundum ea multae res eum hortabantur, quare[5] sibi eam rem cogitandam et suscipiendam putaret; imprimis, quod Aeduos, fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos, in servitute atque in ditione videbat Germanorum teneri, eorumque obsides esse apud Ariovistum ac Sequanos intelligebat; quod in tanto imperio populi Romani turpissimum sibi et rei publicae esse arbitrabatur. Paulatim autem Germanos consuescere Rhenum transire, et in Galliam magnam eorum multitudinem venire populo Romano periculosum videbat; neque sibi homines feros ac barbaros temperaturos existimabat, quin, cum omnem Galliam occupavissent, ut ante Cimbri Teutonique fecissent, in provinciam

[1] *Respondere* and *permanere* are historical or descriptive infinitives.

[2] *Hoc*, the same as *tanto*.

[3] *Tamen.* Before this word a clause is understood, with this meaning: Although the others may not be able to take vengeance on Ariovistus, or expel him, still (*tamen*) they may take to flight.

[4] The act of kindness to which Caesar here alludes is, that in Caesar's consulship, and through his influence, Ariovistus had been recognised by the Romans as king, and honoured with the title of friend of the Roman people.

[5] That is, *ut propterea*. See v. 31.

exirent atque inde in Italiam contenderent,[1] praesertim quum Sequanos a provincia nostra Rhodanus[2] divideret; quibus rebus quam maturrime occurrendum putabat. Ipse autem Ariovistus tantos sibi spiritus, tantam arrogantiam sumpserat, ut ferendus non videretur.

34. Quamobrem placuit ei, ut ad Ariovistum legatos mitteret, qui ab eo postularent, uti aliquem locum medium utriusque[3] colloquio diceret: velle sese de re publica et summis utriusque rebus cum eo agere. Ei legationi Ariovistus respondit: si quid ipsi a Caesare opus esset, sese ad eum venturum fuisse: si quid ille se[4] velit, illum ad se venire oportere. Praeterea se neque sine exercitu in eas partes Galliae venire audere, quas Caesar possideret, neque exercitum sine magno commeatu atque emolumento in unum locum contrahere posse; sibi autem mirum videri, quid in sua Gallia, quam bello vicisset, aut Caesari, aut omnino populo Romano negotii esset.

35. His responsis ad Caesarem relatis iterum ad eum Caesar legatos cum his mandatis mittit: quoniam tanto suo populique Romani beneficio affectus, cum in consulatu suo rex atque amicus a senatu appellatus esset, hanc sibi populoque Romano gratiam referret, ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur neque de communi re dicendum sibi et cognoscendum putaret, haec esse quae ab eo postularet: primum, ne quam multitudinem hominum amplius trans Rhenum in Galliam traduceret; deinde obsides, quos haberet ab Aeduis, redderet Sequanisque permitteret, ut quos illi haberent, voluntate ejus reddere illis liceret; neve Aeduos injuria lacesseret, neve his sociisque eorum bellum inferret. Si id ita fecisset, sibi populoque Romano perpetuam gratiam atque amicitiam cum eo futuram: si non impetraret, sese, quoniam M. Messala, M. Pisone consulibus senatus censuisset, uti, quicunque Galliam provinciam

[1] The war against the Cimbri and Teutoni or Teutones, who crossed the Alps, and invaded Italy, began in B.C. 113. They were defeated by C. Marius in B.C. 102 and 101, at Aquae Sextiae and in the Campi Raudii. Compare ii. 4, 29.

[2] The Germans were already settled in the country of the Sequani, and might easily cross the Rhone, as it was fordable. See chap. 6.

[3] *Utriusque* is here the same as *inter utrumque;* namely, between Caesar and Ariovistus.

[4] Namely, *facere.*

obtineret, quod[1] commodo rei publicae facere posset, Aeduos ceterosque amicos populi Romani defenderet,[2] se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum.

36. Ad haec Ariovistus respondit: jus esse belli, ut qui vicissent, his, quos vicissent, quemadmodum vellent, imperarent: item[3] populum Romanum victis non ad alterius praescriptum, sed ad suum arbitrium imperare consuesse. Si ipse populo Romano non praescriberet, quemadmodum suo jure uteretur, non oportere sese a populo Romano in suo jure impediri. Aeduos sibi, quoniam belli fortunam tentassent et armis congressi ac superati essent, stipendiarios esse factos. Magnam Caesarem injuriam facere, qui suo adventu vectigalia sibi deteriora faceret.[4] Aeduis se obsides redditurum non esse, neque his neque eorum sociis injuria bellum illaturum, si in eo manerent, quod convenisset, stipendiumque quotannis penderent: si id non fecissent, longe his fraternum nomen populi Romani[5] afuturum.[6] Quod sibi Caesar denuntiaret se Aeduorum injurias non neglecturum, neminem secum sine sua pernicie contendisse. Cum vellet, congrederetur: intellecturum, quid invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui inter annos XIV. tectum non subissent, virtute possent.

37. Haec eodem tempore Caesari mandata referebantur, et legati ab Aeduis et a Treviris veniebant: Aedui questum, quod Harudes, qui nuper in Galliam transportati essent, fines eorum popularentur; sese ne obsidibus quidem datis pacem Ariovisti redimere potuisse: Treviri autem,[7] pagos[8] centum

[1] *Quod* is here the same as *quantum*, or perhaps *quoad;* that is, 'as far as.'

[2] The decree of the senate to which reference is here made, probably belongs to the year B. C. 61. At that time the Allobroges had revolted, and it seems that the Aedui soliciting the assistance of Rome, the senate passed the decree here mentioned.

[3] *Item;* that is, in the same manner, or with the same right.

[4] Namely, because on Caesar's arrival some of the Aedui ceased to pay their tribute to Ariovistus, and others intended to follow their example.

[5] The genitive *populi Romani* is governed by the word *frater*, which is contained in the preceding adjective *fraternum.*

[6] *Longe afuturum;* that is, *nihil profuturum*, would be of no avail to them.

[7] Namely, *dixerunt*, which verb is implied in the preceding *questum.*

[8] *Pagus* is both a district, and the inhabitants of a district. The

Suevorum ad ripas Rheni consedisse, qui Rhenum transire conarentur; his praeesse Nasuam et Cimberium fratres. Quibus rebus Caesar vehementer commotus maturandum sibi existimavit, ne, si nova manus Suevorum cum veteribus copiis Ariovisti sese conjunxisset, minus facile resisti posset. Itaque re frumentaria quam celerrime potuit comparata magnis itineribus[1] ad Ariovistum contendit.

38. Cum tridui viam processisset, nuntiatum est ei Ariovistum cum suis omnibus copiis ad occupandum Vesontionem,[2] quod est oppidum maximum Sequanorum, contendere triduique viam a suis finibus[3] profecisse. Id ne accideret, magno opere sibi praecavendum Caesar existimabat. Namque omnium rerum, quae ad bellum usui erant, summa erat in eo oppido facultas, idque natura loci sic muniebatur, ut magnam ad ducendum bellum daret facultatem, propterea quod flumen Dubis ut circino circumductum paene totum oppidum cingit: reliquum spatium, quod est non amplius pedum sexcentorum, qua flumen intermittit, mons continet magna altitudine ita, ut radices montis ex utraque parte ripae fluminis contingant. Hunc murus circumdatus arcem efficit et cum oppido conjungit. Huc Caesar magnis nocturnis diurnisque itineribus contendit occupatoque oppido ibi praesidium collocat.

39. Dum paucos dies ad Vesontionem rei frumentariae commeatusque causa moratur, ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant, saepenumero sese cum his congressos[4] ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. Hic primum ortus est a tribunis militum, praefectis reliquisque, qui ex urbe amicitiae causa Caesarem secuti non magnum in re militari

Suevi, a German tribe, are said to have consisted of one hundred pagi, but here only the soldiers of those one hundred pagi can be meant.

[1] An ordinary day's march for soldiers was eight Roman miles.

[2] *Vesontio*, the modern Besançon, on the river Dubis, which is now called *Doubs*.

[3] That is, from that part of the territory of the Sequani which was occupied by Ariovistus.

[4] Namely, *armis* or *bello*.

usum habebant[1]: quorum alius alia causa illata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret, petebat, ut ejus voluntate discedere liceret; nonnulli pudore adducti, ut timoris suspicionem vitarent, remanebant. Hi neque vultum fingere neque interdum lacrimas tenere poterant: abditi in tabernaculis aut suum fatum querebantur, aut cum familiaribus suis commune periculum miserabantur. Vulgo totis castris testamenta obsignabantur. Horum vocibus ac timore paulatim etiam hi, qui magnum in castris usum habebant, milites centurionesque, quique equitatui praeerant, perturbabantur. Qui se ex his minus timidos existimari volebant, non se hostem vereri, sed angustias itineris et magnitudinem silvarum, quae inter eos atque Ariovistum intercederent, aut rem frumentariam,[2] ut satis commode supportari posset, timere dicebant. Nonnulli etiam Caesari renuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri jussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos.

40. Haec cum animadvertisset, convocato consilio omniumque ordinum[3] ad id consilium adhibitis centurionibus vehementer eos incusavit: primum, quod aut quam in partem, aut quo consilio ducerentur, sibi quaerendum aut cogitandum putarent. Ariovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse: cur hunc tam temere quisquam ab officio discessurum judicaret? Sibi quidem persuaderi cognitis suis postulatis atque aequitate conditionum perspecta eum neque suam neque populi Romani gratiam repudiaturum. Quod si furore atque amentia impulsus bellum intulisset, quid tandem vererentur? aut cur de sua virtute aut de ipsius diligentia desperarent? Factum ejus hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria, cum Cimbris et Teutonis a Caio Mario pulsis non minorem laudem exercitus, quam ipse imperator meritus vide-

[1] Caesar was accompanied in Gaul by a large number of young Romans, who served as tribunes of the soldiers, or as officers of the auxiliary troops.

[2] The accusative *rem frumentariam* is a construction adopted from the Greek language, where it is very common; the ordinary Latin construction would be: *aut ut res frumentaria satis commode supportari posset.*

[3] The *ordines* are the *manipuli*, of which there were thirty in a legion, and three in a cohort. Each legion had sixty centurions; and as the maniples differed in rank, so also the centurions were of different grades.

batur;[1] factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu,[2] quos[3] tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quam a nobis accepissent, sublevarent. Ex quo judicari posset, quantum haberet in se boni constantia; propterea quod quos aliquamdiu inermes sine causa timuissent, hos postea armatos ac victores superassent. Denique hos esse eosdem, quibuscum saepenumero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint,[4] qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint. Si quos adversum proelium et fuga Gallorum commoveret, hos, si quaererent, reperire posse diuturnitate belli defatigatis Gallis Ariovistum, cum multos menses castris se ac paludibus tenuisset neque sui potestatem fecisset, desperantes jam de pugna et dispersos subito adortum magis ratione et consilio, quam virtute vicisse. Cui rationi contra homines barbaros atque imperitos locus fuisset, hac ne ipsum quidem sperare nostros exercitus capi[5] posse. Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariae simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent, facere arroganter, cum aut de officio imperatoris desperare, aut praescribere viderentur. Haec sibi esse curae: frumentum Sequanos, Leucos, Lingones subministrare, jamque esse in agris frumenta matura; de itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicaturos. Quod non fore dicto audientes neque signa laturi dicantur, nihil se ea re commoveri; scire enim quibuscunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit, aut male re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam:[6] suam innocentiam perpetua vita, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se quod in longiorem diem collaturus fuisset, repraesentaturum[7] et proxima nocte de quarta

[1] *Videbatur*, the indicative, instead of the subjunctive, is a transition from the indirect to the direct speech.

[2] *Tumultus* is the name for any war carried on in Italy. Cic. *Phil.* viii. 1. The servile war here alluded to is that of Spartacus, who was defeated in B. C. 71 by M. Licinius Crassus, and among whose men there were a great many Germans.

[3] *Quos* refers to *servos*, which is implied in *servilis*. See chap. 36, note 5.

[4] The object to *superarint* is *quos*, which must be taken from the preceding *quibus*.

[5] *Capi*; that is, *in fraudem induci*, or to be deceived.

[6] *Avaritiam esse convictam*; that is, *illos* (milites) *avaritiae convictos esse*: or when any crime was discovered, it was always found that the soldiers had been led to it by avarice.

[7] That is, *statim facturum*, he would do it at once.

vigilia castra moturum, ut quam primum intelligere posset, utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor valeret. Quod si praeterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum sola decima legione iturum, de qua non dubitaret, sibique eam praetoriam cohortem[1] futuram. Huic legioni Caesar et indulserat praecipue et propter virtutem confidebat maxime.

41. Hac oratione habita mirum in modum conversae sunt omnium mentes, summaque alacritas et cupiditas belli gerendi innata est; princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit, quod de se optimum judicium fecisset, seque esse ad bellum gerendum paratissimam confirmavit. Deinde reliquae legiones cum tribunis militum et primorum ordinum centurionibus egerunt,[2] uti Caesari satisfacerent: se nec umquam dubitasse neque timuisse neque de summa belli[3] suum judicium, sed imperatoris esse existimavisse. Eorum satisfactione accepta et itinere exquisito per Divitiacum, quod ex aliis ei maximam fidem habebat, ut[4] milium amplius quinquaginta circuitu locis apertis exercitum duceret, de quarta vigilia, ut dixerat, profectus est. Septimo die, cum iter non intermitteret, ab exploratoribus certior factus est Ariovisti copias a nostris milibus passuum IV. et XX. abesse.

42. Cognito Caesaris adventu Ariovistus legatos ad eum mittit: quod antea de colloquio postulasset, id per se fieri licere, quoniam propius accessisset; seque id sine periculo facere posse existimare. Non respuit conditionem Caesar, jamque eum ad sanitatem reverti arbitrabatur, cum id, quod antea petenti denegasset, ultro polliceretur, magnamque in spem veniebat pro suis tantis populique Romani in eum beneficiis, cognitis suis postulatis, fore uti pertinacia desisteret. Dies colloquio dictus est, ex eo die quintus. Interim saepe ultro citroque cum legati inter eos mitterentur, Ariovistus postulavit, ne quem peditem ad colloquium Caesar adduceret: vereri se, ne per insidias ab eo circumveniretur: uterque cum equi-

[1] The *praetoria cohors* is the cohort of the praetor or commander; that is, his body-guard.

[2] That is, they had a meeting with their tribunes and centurions, in which they desired them, &c.

[3] *Summa belli*, the general management of the war.

[4] The *ut* is dependent upon *exquisito itinere*, for he had sent Divitiacus to find out a road by which he might avoid the forests; and it was found that he must make a round-about way of more than fifty miles.

tatu veniret: alia ratione sese non esse venturum. Caesar, quod neque colloquium interposita causa tolli volebat neque salutem suam Gallorum equitatui committere audebat, commodissimum esse statuit omnibus equis Gallis equitibus detractis eo[1] legionarios milites legionis decimae, cui quam maxime confidebat, inponere, ut praesidium quam amicissimum, si quid opus facto esset, haberet. Quod cum fieret, non irridicule quidam ex militibus decimae legionis dixit: plus, quam pollicitus esset, Caesarem facere: pollicitum se in cohortis praetoriae loco decimam legionem habiturum ad equum rescribere.[2]

43. Planities erat magna et in ea tumulus terrenus satis grandis. Hic locus aequo fere spatio ab castris Ariovisti et Caesaris aberat. Eo, ut erat dictum,[3] ad colloquium venerunt. Legionem Caesar, quam equis devexerat, passibus ducentis ab eo tumulo constituit. Item equites Ariovisti pari intervallo constiterunt. Ariovistus ex[4] equis ut colloquerentur et praeter se denos ut ad colloquium adducerent, postulavit. Ubi eo ventum est, Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera[5] amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis hominum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum[6] neque causam postulandi justam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. Docebat etiam, quam veteres quamque justae causae necessitudinis ipsis cum Aeduis intercederent; quae senatus consulta, quoties quamque honorifica in eos[7] facta essent; ut omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Aedui tenuissent, prius etiam, quam nostram amicitiam appe-

[1] *Eo*; that is, *in eos;* namely, *equos.*

[2] That is, he raised them to the rank of *equites*, the service in the cavalry being regarded as more honourable, and requiring a higher census, than the service on foot.

[3] *Dictum* here is the same as *constitutum.*

[4] *Ex* indicates the place from which the conversation is to take place, each of the two chiefs being on horseback.

[5] The presents which the Romans used to send to kings consisted of an ivory sceptre, an ornamented toga, a curule chair, &c. See Liv. xxx. 15; Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 26.

[6] Namely, *ad senatum.*

[7] *In eos;* that is, in reference to them, or to honour them.

tissent. Populi Romani hanc esse consuetudinem, ut socios atque amicos non modo sui nihil deperdere, sed gratia, dignitate, honore auctiores velit esse: quod vero ad amicitiam populi Romani adtulissent, id iis eripi quis pati posset? Postulavit deinde eadem, quae legatis in mandatis dederat, ne aut Aeduis, aut eorum sociis bellum inferret; obsides redderet; si nullam partem Germanorum domum remittere posset, at[1] ne quos amplius Rhenum transire pateretur.

44. Ariovistus ad postulata Caesaris pauca respondit, de suis virtutibus multa praedicavit: transisse Rhenum sese non sua sponte, sed rogatum et arcessitum a Gallis; non sine magna spe magnisque praemiis domum propinquosque reliquisse; sedes habere in Gallia ab ipsis concessas, obsides ipsorum voluntate datos; stipendium capere jure belli, quod victores victis inponere consuerint. Non sese Gallis, sed Gallos sibi bellum intulisse; omnes Galliae civitates ad se oppugnandum venisse ac contra se castra habuisse: eas omnes copias a se uno proelio pulsas ac superatas esse. Si iterum experiri velint, se iterum paratum esse decertare; si pace uti velint, iniquum esse de stipendio[2] recusare, quod sua voluntate ad id tempus pependerint. Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio, non detrimento esse oportere, idque[3] se ea spe petisse. Si per populum Romanum stipendium remittatur et dediticii subtrahantur, non minus libenter sese recusaturum populi Romani amicitiam, quam appetierit. Quod multitudinem Germanorum in Galliam traducat, id se sui muniendi, non Galliae impugnandae causa facere: ejus rei testimonio esse, quod nisi rogatus non venerit, et quod bellum non intulerit, sed defenderit. Se prius in Galliam venisse, quam populum Romanum. Numquam ante hoc tempus exercitum populi Romani Galliae provinciae fines egressum. Quid sibi[4] vellet, cur in suas possessiones veniret? Provinciam suam

[1] The meaning of *at* here is almost the same as *saltem*, 'at least.'

[2] Caesar in his demands had made no allusion to the *stipendium* or tribute; but his demanding Ariovistus to restore the hostages, would have deprived Ariovistus of the means of compelling the Gauls to pay it. Hence the expression, *de stipendio recusare*, and not *stipendium recusare*.

[3] The *id* has a more general meaning than the feminine *ea* would have had.

[4] The *sibi* refers to Caesar. The meaning is: what was his (Caesar's) object in coming into his (Ariovistus') possessions.

hanc[1] esse Galliam, sicut illam nostram. Ut ipsi concedi non oporteret, si in nostros fines impetum faceret, sic item nos esse iniquos, quod in suo jure se interpellaremus. Quod fratres [e senatus consulto] Aeduos appellatos diceret, non se tam barbarum neque tam imperitum esse rerum, ut non sciret neque bello Allobrogum proximo Aeduos Romanis auxilium tulisse neque ipsos in his contentionibus, quas Aedui secum et cum Sequanis habuissent, auxilio populi Romani usos esse. Debere se suspicari simulata Caesarem amicitia,[2] quod exercitum in Gallia habeat, sui opprimendi causa habere. Qui nisi decedat atque exercitum deducat ex his regionibus, sese illum non pro amico, sed pro hoste habiturum. Quod si eum interfecerit, multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam ejus morte redimere posset. Quod si decessisset et liberam possessionem Galliae sibi tradidisset, magno se illum praemio remuneraturum et quaecumque bella geri vellet, sine ullo ejus labore et periculo confecturum.

45. Multa ab Caesare in eam sententiam[3] dicta sunt, quare negotio desistere non posset, et neque suam neque populi Romani consuetudinem pati, uti optime meritos socios desereret, neque se judicare Galliam potius esse Ariovisti, quam populi Romani. Bello superatos esse Arvernos et Rutenos ab Q. Fabio Maximo,[4] quibus populus Romanus ignovisset neque in provinciam redegisset neque stipendium inposuisset. Quod si antiquissimum quodque tempus spectari oporteret, populi Romani justissimum esse in Gallia imperium: si judicium senatus observari oporteret, liberam debere esse Galliam, quam bello victam suis legibus uti voluisset.

46. Dum haec in colloquio geruntur, Caesari nuntiatum est equites Ariovisti propius tumulum accedere et ad nostros adequitare, lapides telaque in nostros conjicere. Caesar loquendi finem facit seque ad suos recepit suisque imperavit, ne quod

[1] *Hanc Galliam;* that is, *hanc Galliae partem.* See chap. 22, note 3.

[2] *Amicitia;* namely, for the Aedui, though it may also be the friendship alleged to exist between the Romans and Ariovistus.

[3] *In eam sententiam,* 'to this effect,' or 'to show his opinion.'

[4] Q. Fabius Maximus was consul in B.C. 121, and in that year fought against the Allobroges, Arverni, and Ruteni, with great success.

omnino telum in hostes rejicerent. Nam etsi sine ullo periculo legionis delectae cum equitatu proelium fore videbat, tamen committendum non putabat, ut pulsis hostibus dici posset eos ab se per fidem[1] in colloquio circumventos. Posteaquam in vulgus militum elatum est, qua arrogantia in colloquio Ariovistus usus omni Gallia Romanis interdixisset, impetumque in nostros ejus equites fecissent, eaque res colloquium ut diremisset, multo major alacritas studiumque pugnandi majus exercitui injectum est.

47. Biduo post Ariovistus ad Caesarem legatos mittit: velle se de his rebus, quae inter eos agi coeptae neque perfectae essent, agere cum eo: uti aut iterum colloquio diem constitueret, aut, si id minus vellet, e suis legatis aliquem ad se mitteret. Colloquendi Caesari causa visa non est et eo magis, quod pridie ejus diei Germani retineri non poterant, quin in nostros tela conjicerent. Legatum e suis sese magno cum periculo ad eum missurum et hominibus feris objecturum existimabat. Commodissimum visum est C. Valerium Procillum,[2] C. Valeri Caburi filium, summa virtute et humanitate adolescentem, cujus pater a C. Valerio Flacco[3] civitate donatus erat, et propter fidem et propter linguae Gallicae scientiam, qua multa[4] jam Ariovistus longinqua consuetudine utebatur, et quod in eo peccandi Germanis causa non esset, ad eum mittere, et Marcum Mettium, qui hospitio Ariovisti utebatur. His mandavit, ut quae diceret Ariovistus, cognoscerent et ad se referrent. Quos cum apud se in castris Ariovistus conspexisset, exercitu suo praesente conclamavit: Quid ad se venirent? an speculandi causa? Conantes dicere prohibuit et in catenas conjecit.

48. Eodem die castra promovit et milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte consedit. Postridie ejus diei praeter castra Caesaris suas copias traduxit et milibus passuum duobus ultra eum castra fecit, eo consilio, uti frumento

[1] *Per fidem;* namely, *hostibus datam;* that is, at a time during which he was bound by his promise to abstain from hostilities.

[2] Seems to be the same as the C. Valerius Procillus mentioned in chaps. 19 and 53.

[3] C. Valerius Flaccus had been governor of the province of Gaul in B.C. 83. See Cic. *pro Quint.* 76.

[4] *Multa;* namely, *lingua. Multa lingua uti* is the same as *multum lingua uti*, 'to make much use of a language'—'to speak it often.'

commeatuque, qui ex Sequanis et Aeduis supportaretur, Caesarem intercluderet. Ex eo die dies continuos quinque Caesar pro castris suas copias produxit et aciem instructam habuit, ut, si vellet Ariovistus proelio contendere, ei potestas non deesset. Ariovistus his omnibus diebus exercitum castris continuit, equestri proelio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc[1] erat pugnae, quo se Germani exercuerant. Equitum milia erant sex, totidem numero pedites velocissimi ac fortissimi, quos ex omni copia singuli singulos suae salutis causa delegerant. Cum his in proeliis versabantur, ad eos se equites recipiebant: hi, si quid erat durius,[2] concurrebant, si qui graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderat, circumsistebant: si quo erat longius prodeundum aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut jubis equorum sublevati cursum[3] adaequarent.

49. Ubi eum castris se tenere Caesar intellexit, ne diutius commeatu prohiberetur, ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant, circiter passus sexcentos ab his, castris idoneum locum delegit acieque triplici instructa ad eum locum venit. Primam et secundam aciem in armis esse, tertiam castra munire jussit. Hic locus ab hoste circiter passus sexcentos, uti dictum est, aberat. Eo circiter hominum numero sedecim milia expedita cum omni equitatu Ariovistus misit, quae copiae nostros perterrerent et munitione prohiberent. Nihilo secius Caesar, ut ante constituerat, duas acies hostem propulsare, tertiam opus perficere jussit. Munitis castris duas ibi legiones reliquit et partem auxiliorum, quatuor reliquas in castra majora reduxit.

50. Proximo die instituto suo[4] Caesar e castris utrisque copias suas eduxit paulumque a majoribus castris progressus aciem instruxit; hostibus pugnandi potestatem fecit. Ubi ne tum quidem eos prodire intellexit, circiter meridiem exercitum in castra reduxit. Tum demum Ariovistus partem suarum copiarum, quae castra minora oppugnaret, misit. Acriter utrimque usque ad vesperum pugnatum est. Solis occasu suas copias Ariovistus multis et illatis et acceptis vulneribus

1 *Hoc* refers to the description which follows.
2 That is, if at any particular point the danger was greater than usual.
3 *Cursum;* namely, *equorum.*
4 'According to his plan.'

in castra reduxit. Cum ex captivis quaereret Caesar, quam ob rem Ariovistus proelio[1] non decertaret, hanc reperiebat causam, quod apud Germanos ea consuetudo esset, ut matres familiae[2] eorum sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent, utrum proelium committi ex usu esset, necne: eas ita dicere: non esse fas Germanos superare, si ante novam lunam[3] proelio contendissent.

51. Postridie ejus diei Caesar praesidio utrisque castris quod satis esse visum est reliquit; omnes alarios[4] in conspectu hostium pro castris minoribus constituit, quo minus multitudine militum legionariorum pro hostium numero valebat, ut ad speciem alariis uteretur; ipse triplici instructa acie usque ad castra hostium accessit. Tum demum necessario Germani suas copias castris eduxerunt generatimque constituerunt, paribus intervallis Harudes, Marcomanos, Triboccos, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusios, Suevos, omnemque aciem suam rhedis et carris circumdederunt, ne qua spes in fuga relinqueretur. Eo mulieres imposuerunt, quae in proelium proficiscentes passis manibus[5] flentes implorabant, ne se in servitutem Romanis traderent.

52. Caesar singulis legionibus singulos legatos et quaestorem[6] praefecit, uti eos testes suae quisque virtutis haberet; ipse a dextro cornu, quod eam partem minime firmam hostium esse animum adverterat, proelium commisit. Ita nostri acriter in hostes signo dato impetum fecerunt, itaque hostes repente celeriterque procurrerunt, ut spatium pila in hostes conjiciendi non daretur. Rejectis pilis comminus gladiis pugnatum est. At Germani celeriter ex consuetudine sua phalange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent et scuta manibus revelle-

[1] *Proelium* here is a regular battle, in which the whole army takes part.

[2] The ancient Germans believed that the female sex had something supernatural about it, and was endowed with prophetic powers.

[3] This oracle applies only to the present case, and at another time, the women might advise the very opposite.

[4] The *alarii* are the auxiliaries, who were drawn up at the wings (*alae*).

[5] That is, with their hands stretched out.

[6] The quaestor, probably the quaestor of the province of Gaul, seems to have supplied the place of a legate, as in v. 24.

rent et desuper vulnerarent.[1] Cum hostium acies a sinistro cornu pulsa atque in fugam conversa esset, a dextro cornu vehementer multitudine suorum nostram aciem premebant. Id cum animadvertisset Publius Crassus adolescens, qui equitatui praeerat, quod expeditior erat, quam hi, qui inter aciem versabantur, tertiam aciem laborantibus nostris subsidio misit.

53. Ita proelium restitutum est, atque omnes hostes terga verterunt neque prius fugere destiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum milia passuum ex eo loco circiter [quinquaginta] pervenerunt. Ibi perpauci aut viribus confisi tranare contenderunt, aut lintribus inventis sibi salutem repererunt. In his fuit Ariovistus, qui naviculam deligatam ad ripam nactus ea profugit: reliquos omnes equitatu consecuti nostri interfecerunt. Duae fuerunt Ariovisti uxores,[2] una Sueva natione, quam domo secum duxerat, altera Norica, regis Voctionis soror, quam in Gallia duxerat a fratre missam: utraque in ea fuga perierunt. Duae filiae harum, altera occisa, altera capta est. Caius Valerius Procillus, cum a custodibus in fuga trinis catenis vinctus traheretur, in ipsum Caesarem hostes equitatu persequentem incidit. Quae quidem res Caesari non minorem, quam ipsa victoria voluptatem attulit, quod hominem honestissimum provinciae Galliae, suum familiarem et hospitem, ereptum e manibus hostium sibi restitutum videbat, neque ejus calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat. Is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur, an in aliud tempus reservaretur: sortium beneficio se esse incolumem. Item Marcus Mettius repertus et ad eum reductus est.

54. Hoc proelio trans Rhenum nuntiato Suevi, qui ad ripas Rheni venerant, domum reverti coeperunt; quos Ubii,[3] qui proximi Rhenum incolunt, [ut] perterritos senserunt, insecuti magnum ex his numerum occiderunt. Caesar una aestate

[1] Namely, *Germanos.*

[2] The Germans generally were not polygamists, but their chiefs or nobles sometimes made an exception, and had two or more wives. Tacit. *Germ.* 18.

[3] The *Ubii*, who inhabited the right bank of the Rhine, were a German tribe, but appear to have been more civilised than the Suevi, to whom they were hostile, but by whom they were ultimately subdued.

duobus maximis bellis confectis maturius paulo, quam tempus anni postulabat, in hiberna in Sequanos exercitum deduxit; hibernis Labienum praeposuit; ipse in citeriorem Galliam ad conventus[1] agendos profectus est.

[1] The *conventus* were court days, or meetings of the provincials in certain places, at which the governor of the province held his courts of justice. For this purpose each province was divided into a certain number of districts or circuits, which were likewise called *conventus*. The proconsul generally chose twenty distinguished provincials, who assisted him in the administration of justice, and formed his council.



LIBER II.

Cum esset Caesar in citeriore Gallia in hibernis,[1] ita uti supra demonstravimus, crebri ad eum rumores afferebantur, litterisque item Labieni certior fiebat omnes Belgas, quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus,[2] contra populum Romanum conjurare obsidesque inter se dare. Conjurandi has esse causas: primum, quod vererentur, ne omni pacata Gallia[3] ad eos exercitus noster adduceretur; deinde, quod ab nonnullis Gallis sollicitarentur, partim qui,[4] ut Germanos diutius in Gallia versari noluerant, ita populi Romani exercitum hiemare atque inveterascere in Gallia moleste ferebant, partim qui mobilitate et levitate animi novis imperiis studebant; ab nonnullis etiam, quod in Gallia a potentioribus atque his, qui ad conducendos homines facultates habebant, vulgo regna occupabantur, qui minus facile eam rem imperio nostro consequi poterant.

2. His nuntiis litterisque commotus Caesar duas legiones in citeriore Gallia novas conscripsit et inita aestate in interiorem Galliam qui deduceret, Quintum Pedium legatum misit. Ipse, cum primum pabuli copia esse inciperet, ad exercitum venit; dat negotium Senonibus reliquisque Gallis, qui finitimi Belgis erant, uti ea, quae apud eos gerantur, cognoscant seque de his rebus certiorem faciant. Hi constanter omnes nuntiaverunt[5]

[1] According to the last chapter of the first book, the winter quarters were in the country of the Sequani; but Caesar, while holding the conventus in Cisalpine Gaul, undoubtedly had with him some legions, so that one part of his army may justly be said to have been with him in winter quarters in Cisalpine Gaul.

[2] That is, *diximus;* but the pluperfect indicates that, between the time *when he said it* and the present moment, something took place which is now past. Caesar is very partial to this use of the pluperfect *dixeramus.* Compare chaps. 24, 28, and iv. 27.

[3] *Omnis Gallia* is here used in a narrower sense than in i. 1, for the Belgae, at any rate, are excepted.

[4] *Partim qui;* that is, *quorum pars.* The indicative in the following sentences shows that they do not contain the reports which Caesar heard, but his own convictions.

[5] That is, 'they all agreed in their statement.'

manus cogi, exercitum in unum locum conduci. Tum vero dubitandum non existimavit, quin ad eos proficisceretur. Re frumentaria comparata castra movet diebusque circiter quindecim ad fines Belgarum pervenit.

3. Eo cum de improviso celeriusque omni opinione venisset, Remi,[1] qui proximi Galliae ex Belgis sunt, ad eum legatos Iccium et Andocumborium, primos civitatis, miserunt, qui dicerent se[2] suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere, neque se cum Belgis reliquis consensisse neque contra populum Romanum conjurasse, paratosque esse et obsides dare et imperata facere et oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus juvare; reliquos omnes Belgas in armis esse, Germanosque, qui cis Rhenum incolant, sese cum his conjunxisse, tantumque esse eorum omnium furorem, ut ne Suessiones quidem, fratres consanguineosque suos, qui eodem jure et iisdem legibus utantur, unum imperium unumque magistratum cum ipsis habeant, deterrere potuerint, quin cum his consentirent.

4. Cum ab his quaereret, quae civitates quantaeque in armis essent et quid in bello possent, sic reperiebat: plerosque Belgas esse ortos ab Germanis Rhenumque antiquitus traductos propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque, qui ea loca incolerent, expulisse solosque esse, qui patrum nostrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata Teutonos Cimbrosque intra fines suos ingredi prohibuerint; qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam sibi auctoritatem magnosque spiritus in re militari sumerent.[3] De numero eorum omnia se habere explorata Remi dicebant, propterea quod propinquitatibus affinitatibusque[4] conjuncti quantam quisque multitudinem in communi Belgarum concilio ad id bellum pollicitus sit, cognoverint. Plurimum inter eos Bellovacos[5] et virtute et auctoritate et

[1] The Remi inhabited the country between the river Marne and the frontier of the Belgae; the modern town of Rheims seems to have been the capital of the Remi.

[2] Before *se*, which is the object of *permittere*, a second *se* is understood, which is the subject of *permittere*. Compare chap. 31; Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.*, § 605.

[3] *Magnos spiritus sibi sumere*, 'to boast greatly.' Compare i. 33.

[4] *Propinquitas* is relationship by blood, and *affinitas* relationship arising from intermarriages. Cic. *pro Planc.* 11.

[5] Their capital, Bratuspantium, afterwards Caesaromagus, was near the modern town of Bauvais, which derives its name from Bellovaci.

hominum numero valere; hos posse conficere armata milia centum, pollicitos ex eo numero electa sexaginta, totiusque belli imperium sibi postulare. Suessiones suos esse finitimos; fines latissimos feracissimosque agros possidere. Apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum, totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit: nunc esse regem Galbam: ad hunc propter justitiam prudentiamque suam totius belli summam omnium voluntate deferri; oppida habere numero XII., polliceri milia armata quinquaginta; totidem Nervios, qui maxime feri inter ipsos habeantur, longissimeque absint; quindecim milia Atrebates, Ambianos X. milia, Morinos XXV. milia, Menapios VII. milia, Caletos X. milia, Velocasses et Veromanduos totidem, Aduatucos decem et novem milia; Condrusos, Eburones, Caeroesos, Paemanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur, arbitrari[1] ad XL. milia.

5. Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus[2] omnem senatum ad se convenire principumque liberos obsides ad se adduci jussit. Quae omnia ab his diligenter ad diem facta[3] sunt. Ipse Divitiacum Aeduum magnopere cohortatus docet, quanto opere rei publicae[4] communisque salutis intersit manus hostium distinere, ne cum tanta multitudine uno tempore confligendum sit. Id fieri posse, si suas copias Aedui in fines Bellovacorum introduxerint et eorum agros populari coeperint. His mandatis eum ab se dimittit. Postquam omnes Belgarum copias in unum locum coactas ad se venire vidit,[5] neque jam longe abesse ab his, quos miserat, exploratoribus et ab Remis cognovit, flumen Axonam,[6] quod est in extremis Remorum finibus, exercitum traducere

1 Namely, *Remi se dicebant;* these tribes seem not to have been present at the meeting of the Belgae, whence the Remi are not quite certain about the number of their forces.

2 That is, 'having in his speech shown them great kindness and friendship.'

3 'On the very day,' namely, which Caesar had fixed for them. See v. 1, vii. 77.

4 Namely, *Romanae*, whereas *communis salutis* refers to both the Romans and the Aedui.

5 That is, 'when he had heard it from the Remi,' and, accordingly, was as certain as if he had seen it himself.

6 The *Axona* is the modern Aisne in Champagne.

maturavit atque ibi castra posuit. Quae res et latus unum castrorum ripis fluminis muniebat et post eum quae essent tuta ab hostibus reddebat et commeatus ab Remis reliquisque civitatibus ut sine periculo ad eum[1] portari possent, efficiebat. In eo flumine pons erat. Ibi praesidium ponit et in altera parte fluminis Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum sex cohortibus relinquit: castra in altitudinem pedum XII. vallo fossaque duodeviginti pedum munire[2] jubet.

6. Ab his castris oppidum Remorum nomine Bibrax[3] aberat milia passuum octo. Id ex itinere[4] magno impetu Belgae oppugnare coeperunt. Aegre eo die sustentatum est. Gallorum eadem atque Belgarum oppugnatio est haec. Ubi circumjecta multitudine hominum totis moenibus undique in murum lapides jaci coepti sunt, murusque defensoribus nudatus est, testudine facta portas succedunt murumque subruunt. Quod tum facile[5] fiebat. Nam cum tanta multitudo lapides ac tela conjicerent, in muro consistendi potestas erat nulli. Cum finem oppugnandi nox fecisset, Iccius Remus, summa nobilitate et gratia inter suos, qui tum oppido praefuerat, unus ex his, qui legati de pace ad Caesarem venerant,[6] nuntium ad eum mittit: nisi subsidium sibi submittatur, sese diutius sustinere non posse.

7. Eo[7] de media nocte Caesar iisdem ducibus usus, qui nuntii ab Iccio venerant, Numidas et Cretas sagittarios et funditores Baleares[8] subsidio oppidanis mittit; quorum adventu et Remis cum spe defensionis studium propugnandi accessit, et hostibus eadem de causa spes potiundi oppidi discessit. Itaque paulisper apud oppidum morati agrosque Remorum depopulati om-

[1] *Eum;* that is, *Caesarem.*

[2] Namely, *milites,* and not Titurius Sabinus, who was on the other side of the river.

[3] *Bibrax* is believed by some to be the little town of Bièvre, between Laon and the river Aisne.

[4] *Ex itinere;* that is, while on their march, and without interrupting it by pitching their camp near the place. See i. 25.

[5] That is, 'without danger.'

[6] See chap. 3.

[7] *Eo* here may be 'thither,' namely, to the town of Bibrax, or it is used in the sense of *ideo;* the latter is preferable.

[8] The Numidians, as well as the Cretan archers and the Balearian slingers, are here to be considered as a light-armed infantry.

nibus vicis aedificiisque, quos adire potuerant, incensis ad castra Caesaris omnibus copiis contenderunt et ab[1] milibus passuum minus duobus castra posuerunt; quae castra, ut fumo atque ignibus significabatur, amplius milibus passuum octo in latitudinem patebant.

8. Caesar primo et propter multitudinem hostium et propter eximiam opinionem virtutis proelio[2] supersedere statuit; quotidie tamen equestribus proeliis, quid hostis virtute posset, et quid nostri auderent, periclitabatur. Ubi nostros non esse inferiores intellexit, loco pro castris ad aciem instruendam natura opportuno atque idoneo,[3] quod is collis, ubi castra posita erant, paululum ex planitie editus tantum adversus[4] in latitudinem patebat, quantum loci acies instructa occupare poterat, atque ex utraque parte lateris dejectus habebat et in fronte leniter fastigatus paulatim ad planitiem redibat, ab utroque latere ejus collis transversam fossam obduxit circiter passuum quadringentorum[5] et ad extremas fossas castella constituit ibique tormenta[6] collocavit, ne, cum aciem instruxisset, hostes, quod tantum multitudine poterant, a lateribus pugnantes suos circumvenire possent. Hoc facto duabus legionibus, quas proxime conscripserat, in castris relictis, ut, si quo opus esset, subsidio duci possent, reliquas sex legiones pro castris in acie constituit. Hostes item suas copias ex castris eductas instruxerant.

9. Palus erat non magna inter nostrum atque hostium exercitum. Hanc si nostri transirent, hostes exspectabant; nostri autem, si ab illis initium transeundi fieret, ut impeditos aggrederentur, parati in armis erant. Interim proelio equestri inter duas acies contendebatur. Ubi neutri transeundi initium

1 *Ab* here signifies 'at the distance of,' the point *from* which the distance is reckoned being expressed by the distance itself. See chap. 30, iv. 22, v. 32, vi. 7.

2 *Proelio* is the ablative, *supersedere* being equivalent to *abstinere*.

3 *Loco opportuno atque idoneo* is an ablative absolute, for *quum locus opportunus atque idoneus esset*. See iv. 1, 24.

4 *Adversus* here is an adjective belonging to *collis*, though in reality it applies only to a part of it; namely, that part which faced the enemy. See i. 22, note 3.

5 Namely, *in longitudinem*, or in length.

6 The *tormenta*, in ancient warfare, may be compared to our heavy artillery, for they consisted of engines by which large stones and showers of arrows were thrown against an enemy.

faciunt, secundiore equitum proelio[1] nostris Caesar suos in castra reduxit. Hostes protinus ex eo loco ad flumen Axonam contenderunt, quod esse post nostra castra demonstratum est. Ibi vadis repertis partem suarum copiarum traducere conati sunt, eo consilio, ut, si possent, castellum, cui praeerat Quintus Titurius legatus,[2] expugnarent pontemque interscinderent: si minus potuissent, agros Remorum popularentur, qui magno nobis usui ad bellum gerendum erant, commeatuque nostros prohiberent.

10. Caesar certior factus ab Titurio omnem equitatum et levis armaturae Numidas, funditores sagittariosque pontem traducit atque ad eos contendit. Acriter in eo loco[3] pugnatum est. Hostes impeditos nostri in flumine aggressi magnum eorum numerum occiderunt: per eorum corpora reliquos audacissime transire conantes multitudine telorum repulerunt; primos, qui transierant, equitatu circumventos interfecerunt. Hostes, ubi et de expugnando oppido et de flumine transeundo spem se fefellisse intellexerunt neque nostros in locum iniquiorem progredi pugnandi causa viderunt, atque ipsos res frumentaria deficere coepit, concilio convocato constituerunt optimum esse domum suam quemque reverti, et quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos undique convenirent,[4] ut potius in suis, quam in alienis finibus decertarent et domesticis copiis rei frumentariae uterentur. Ad eam sententiam cum reliquis causis haec quoque ratio eos deduxit, quod Divitiacum atque Aeduos finibus Bellovacorum adpropinquare cognoverant: his persuaderi, ut diutius morarentur neque[5] suis auxilium ferrent, non poterat.

11. Ea re constituta secunda vigilia magno cum strepitu ac tumultu castris egressi nullo certo ordine neque imperio, cum sibi quisque primum itineris locum peteret et domum per-

[1] *Secundiore proelio* is the ablative absolute. See chap. 8, note 3.

[2] See chap. 5.

[3] *In eo loco;* namely, in which he found the enemies.

[4] Instead of *convenirent* we might have expected the infinitive *convenire*, as in the preceding clause we have *reverti;* but *reverti* is the real object of the enemy's decree, whereas *convenirent* expresses the intention or purpose for which they are to return.

[5] *Neque* here answers to the negative meaning implied in the preceding clause. Compare i. 35.

venire properaret, fecerunt, ut consimilis fugae profectio videretur. Hac re statim Caesar per speculatores cognita insidias veritus, quod, qua de causa discederent, nondum perspexerat, exercitum equitatumque castris continuit. Prima luce confirmata re ab exploratoribus omnem equitatum, qui novissimum agmen moraretur, praemisit. His[1] Quintum Pedium et Lucium Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praefecit. Titum Labienum legatum cum legionibus tribus subsequi jussit. Hi novissimos adorti et multa milia passuum prosecuti magnam multitudinem eorum fugientium conciderunt, cum ab extremo agmine[2] ad quos ventum erat, consisterent fortiterque impetum nostrorum militum sustinerent, priores, quod abesse a periculo viderentur neque ulla necessitate neque imperio continerentur, exaudito clamore perturbatis ordinibus omnes in fuga sibi praesidium ponerent. Ita sine ullo periculo tantam eorum multitudinem nostri interfecerunt, quantum fuit diei spatium,[3] sub occasumque solis destiterunt seque in castra, ut erat imperatum, receperunt.

12. Postridie ejus diei Caesar, priusquam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent,[4] in fines Suessionum, qui proximi Remis erant, exercitum duxit et magno itinere confecto ad oppidum Noviodunum contendit.[5] Id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, quod vacuum ab defensoribus esse audiebat, propter latitudinem fossae murique altitudinem paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit. Castris munitis vineas[6] agere quaeque ad oppugnandum usui erant, comparare coepit. Interim omnis ex fuga Suessionum multitudo in oppidum proxima nocte convenit. Celeriter vineis ad oppidum actis, aggere jacto[7] turri-

[1] Namely, *equitibus*, which is contained in the preceding substantive *equitatum*.

[2] *Ab extremo agmine;* that is, *novissimi*, the *ab* here expressing the part from which the enemy's resistance proceeded.

[3] That is, they slew as many as the remaining part of the day allowed them. See iv. 35.

[4] *Recipere ex*, 'to recover from.' Compare iv. 34.

[5] *Itinere confecto;* namely, *in fines Suessionum;* and as soon as he had reached their territory, he hastened (*contendit*) to *Noviodunum*, the modern Soissons, which derives its name from the Suessiones, whose capital it was.

[6] The *vineae* were roofs of wicker work, resting on posts and wheels, under which the soldiers could with safety approach the walls of a hostile town, and undermine them.

[7] *Aggerem jacere*, to throw earth into the ditch for the purpose of

busque constitutis magnitudine operum, quae neque viderant ante Galli neque audierant, et celeritate Romanorum permoti legatos ad Caesarem de deditione mittunt et petentibus Remis, ut conservarentur, impetrant.

13. Caesar obsidibus acceptis, primis civitatis atque ipsius Galbae regis duobus filiis, armisque omnibus ex oppido traditis in deditionem Suessiones accepit exercitumque in Bellovacos ducit. Qui cum se suaque omnia in oppidum Bratuspantium[1] contulissent, atque ab eo oppido Caesar cum exercitu circiter milia passuum quinque abesset, omnes majores natu ex oppido egressi manus ad Caesarem tendere et voce significare coeperunt sese in ejus fidem ac potestatem venire neque contra populum Romanum armis contendere. Item, cum ad oppidum accessisset castraque ibi poneret, pueri mulieresque ex muro passis manibus suo more pacem ab Romanis petierunt.

14. Pro his Divitiacus (nam post discessum Belgarum dimissis Aeduorum copiis ad eum reverterat) facit verba: Bellovacos omni tempore in fide atque amicitia civitatis Aeduae fuisse: impulsos ab suis principibus, qui dicerent Aeduos a Caesare in servitutem redactos omnes indignitates contumeliasque perferre, et ab Aeduis defecisse et populo Romano bellum intulisse. Qui ejus consilii principes[2] fuissent, quod intelligerent, quantam calamitatem civitati intulissent, in Britanniam profugisse. Petere non solum Bellovacos, sed etiam pro his Aeduos, ut sua clementia ac mansuetudine in eos utatur. Quod si fecerit, Aeduorum auctoritatem apud omnes Belgas amplificaturum; quorum auxiliis atque opibus, si qua bella inciderint, sustentare consuerint.

15. Caesar honoris Divitiaci atque Aeduorum causa sese eos in fidem recepturum et conservaturum dixit: quod erat civitas magna inter Belgas auctoritate atque hominum multitudine praestabat, sexcentos obsides poposcit. His traditis omnibusque armis ex oppido collatis ab eo loco in fines Ambianorum pervenit, qui se suaque omnia sine mora dedi-

filling it up, and making it level with the rest of the ground, so that the military engines could be wheeled up to the wall.

[1] *Bratuspantium*, after the reduction of the Bellovaci, was called Caesaromagus. Ruins of a town of Bratuspante, a little north of Beauvais, are said to have existed as late as the sixteenth century. See chap. 4, note 5.

[2] That is, *auctores*. Compare vi. 4, 44, vii. 37.

derunt. Eorum fines Nervii attingebant; quorum de natura moribusque Caesar cum quaereret, sic reperiebat: nullum aditum esse[1] ad eos mercatoribus: nihil pati vini reliquarumque rerum ad luxuriam pertinentium inferri, quod iis rebus relanguescere animos eorum et remitti virtutem existimarent. Esse homines feros magnaeque virtutis: increpitare atque incusare reliquos Belgas, qui se populo Romano dedidissent patriamque virtutem projecissent: confirmare[2] sese neque legatos missuros neque ullam conditionem pacis accepturos.

16. Cum per eorum fines triduum iter fecisset, inveniebat ex captivis[3] Sabim[4] flumen ab castris suis non amplius milia passuum X. abesse: trans id flumen omnes Nervios consedisse adventumque ibi Romanorum exspectare una cum Atrebatibus et Veromanduis, finitimis suis (nam his utrisque persuaserant, uti eandem belli fortunam experirentur): exspectari etiam ab his Aduatucorum copias atque esse in itinere: mulieres quique per aetatem ad pugnam inutiles viderentur, in eum locum conjecisse,[5] quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.

17. His rebus cognitis exploratores centurionesque praemittit, qui locum idoneum castris deligant. Cumque ex dediticiis Belgis reliquisque Gallis complures Caesarem secuti una iter facerent, quidam ex his, ut postea ex captivis cognitum est, eorum dierum consuetudine itineris nostri exercitus perspecta, nocte ad Nervios pervenerunt atque his demonstrarunt inter singulas legiones impedimentorum[6] magnum numerum intercedere, neque esse quicquam negotii, cum prima legio in castra[7] venisset, reliquaeque legiones magnum spatium abessent, hanc sub sarcinis adoriri: qua pulsa impedimentisque direptis futurum, ut reliquae contra consistere non auderent. Adjuvabat etiam eorum consilium, qui rem

[1] That is, *non licere adire ad eos mercatoribus.*

[2] Namely, *eos;* for *sese* belongs to *missuros* and *accepturos.*

[3] As no battle had been fought, these *captivi* probably were country people whom Caesar had taken prisoners on his march.

[4] The river *Sabis* is the modern Sambre, a tributary of the Meuse.

[5] That is, they had quickly or hurriedly taken or sent them.

[6] *Impedimenta* comprehends everything that an army is obliged to carry with it: some things were carried in carts, or by mules and horses; but others, such as food, were carried by the soldiers, who, when thus encumbered, are said to be *impediti* or *esse sub sarcinis.*

[7] That is, to the place where the camp was to be pitched.

deferebant, quod Nervii antiquitus, cum equitatu nihil possent (neque enim ad hoc tempus ei rei student, sed quicquid possunt, pedestribus valent copiis) quo facilius finitimorum equitatum, si praedandi causa ad eos venissent, impedirent, teneris arboribus incisis atque inflexis, crebris in latitudinem ramis enatis et rubis sentibusque interjectis, effecerant, ut instar muri hae sepes munimentum praeberent, quo non modo[1] intrari, sed ne perspici quidem posset. His rebus cum iter agminis nostri impediretur, non omittendum sibi consilium Nervii existimaverunt.

18. Loci natura erat haec, quem locum nostri castris delegerant: collis ab summo[2] aequaliter declivis ad flumen Sabim, quod supra nominavimus, vergebat. Ab eo flumine pari adclivitate collis nascebatur, adversus huic et contrarius, passus circiter ducentos,[3] infimus apertus, ab superiore parte silvestris, ut non facile introrsus perspici posset. Intra eas silvas hostes in occulto sese continebant: in aperto loco secundum flumen paucae stationes equitum videbantur. Fluminis erat altitudo pedum circiter trium.

19. Caesar equitatu praemisso subsequebatur omnibus copiis; sed ratio ordoque agminis aliter se habebat ac Belgae ad Nervios detulerant. Nam quod ad hostes appropinquabat, consuetudine sua Caesar sex legiones expeditas ducebat: post eas totius exercitus impedimenta collocarat: inde duae legiones, quae proxime conscriptae erant, totum agmen claudebant praesidioque impedimentis erant. Equites nostri cum funditoribus sagittariisque flumen transgressi cum hostium equitatu proelium commiserunt. Cum se illi identidem in silvas[4] ad suos reciperent ac rursus ex silva in nostros impetum facerent, neque nostri longius, quam quem ad finem porrecta[5] ac loca aperta pertinebant, cedentes insequi auderent, interim legiones sex, quae primae venerant, opere dimenso castra munire coe-

[1] *Non modo* here, as in many other passages, is used for *non modo non.* See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.*, § 724, b.

[2] *Summo;* namely, *colli,* 'from its top.'

[3] Namely, *a flumine;* the opposite hill beginning to rise at a distance of about two hundred paces from the river.

[4] *Silvae* here are the parts of the forest, the whole of it being afterwards expressed by *silva.* See iii. 28.

[5] *Porrecta* cannot belong to *loca,* on account of its position, and must be taken in the sense of a substantive. Compare vii. 88.

perunt. Ubi prima impedimenta nostri exercitus ab his, qui in silvis abditi latebant, visa sunt, quod tempus inter eos committendi proelii convenerat, ita,[1] ut intra silvas aciem ordinesque constituerant atque ipsi sese confirmaverant, subito omnibus copiis provolaverunt impetumque in nostros equites fecerunt. His facile pulsis ac proturbatis incredibili celeritate ad flumen decucurrerunt, ut paene uno tempore et ad silvas et in flumine et jam in manibus nostris hostes viderentur. Eadem autem celeritate adverso colle[2] ad nostra castra atque eos, qui in opere occupati erant, contenderunt.

20. Caesari omnia uno tempore erant agenda: vexillum[3] proponendum, quod erat insigne, cum ad arma concurri oporteret, signum tuba dandum, ab opere revocandi milites, qui paulo longius aggeris petendi causa processerant, arcessendi, acies instruenda, milites cohortandi, signum dandum. Quarum rerum magnam partem temporis brevitas et successus[4] hostium impediebat. His difficultatibus duae res erant subsidio: scientia atque usus militum, quod superioribus proeliis exercitati, quid fieri oporteret, non minus commode ipsi sibi praescribere, quam ab aliis doceri poterant, et quod ab opere singulisque legionibus singulos legatos Caesar discedere nisi munitis castris vetuerat. Hi propter propinquitatem et celeritatem hostium nihil jam Caesaris imperium exspectabant, sed per se quae videbantur[5] administrabant.

21. Caesar necessariis rebus imperatis ad cohortandos milites quam in partem fors obtulit, decucurrit et ad legionem decimam devenit. Milites non longiore oratione cohortatus, quam[6] uti suae pristinae virtutis memoriam retinerent neu perturbarentur animo hostiumque impetum fortiter sustinerent, quod non longius hostes aberant, quam quo telum adjici posset,

[1] *Ita* is here used as an adverb of time, referring to *quod tempus inter eos convenerat.*

[2] That is, 'up the hill,' just as *adverso flumine* is 'up the river.'

[3] The *vexillum* was a purple flag hoisted over the general's tent, which was to the soldiers a signal (*insigne*) to keep themselves ready for battle. When all the soldiers were ready, they were called together by the sound of a trumpet (*signum dare tuba*). The *signum* at the end of this sentence is the watchword.

[4] *Successus* is the rapid advance of the enemy.

[5] Namely, *administranda esse.*

[6] That is, 'than was necessary to impress upon them the necessity of remembering,' &c.

proelii committendi signum dedit. Atque in alteram partem item cohortandi causa profectus pugnantibus occurrit. Temporis tanta fuit exiguitas hostiumque tam paratus ad dimicandum animus, ut non modo ad insignia[1] accommodanda, sed etiam ad galeas induendas scutisque tegimenta detrudenda tempus defuerit. Quam quisque ab opere in partem casu devenit quaeque prima signa conspexit, ad haec constitit, ne in[2] quaerendis suis pugnandi tempus dimitteret.

22. Instructo exercitu magis ut loci natura dejectusque collis et necessitas temporis, quam ut rei militaris ratio atque ordo postulabat, cum diversis legionibus[3] aliae alia in parte hostibus resisterent, sepibusque densissimis, ut ante demonstravimus, interjectis prospectus impediretur, neque certa subsidia collocari neque quid in quaque parte opus esset, provideri neque ab uno omnia imperia administrari poterant. Itaque in tanta rerum iniquitate fortunae quoque eventus varii sequebantur.

23. Legionis nonae et decimae milites, ut in sinistra parte acie constiterant, pilis emissis cursu ac lassitudine exanimatos vulneribusque confectos Atrebates (nam his ea pars obvenerat) celeriter ex loco superiore in flumen compulerunt et transire conantes insecuti gladiis magnam partem eorum impeditam interfecerunt. Ipsi transire flumen non dubitaverunt et in locum iniquum progressi rursus resistentes hostes redintegrato proelio in fugam conjecerunt. Item alia in parte diversae duae legiones, undecima et octava, profligatis Veromanduis, quibuscum erant congressi, ex loco superiore in ipsis fluminis ripis proeliabantur. At totis fere a fronte et ab sinistra parte nudatis castris, cum in dextro cornu legio duodecima et non magno ab ea intervallo septima constitisset, omnes Nervii confertissimo agmine duce Boduognato, qui summam imperii tenebat, ad eum locum contenderunt; quorum pars aperto latere[4] legiones circumvenire, pars summum castrorum locum petere coepit.

[1] The *insignia* here are the ornamental parts of the armour, especially of the helmet. See i. 22.

[2] The *in* here is equivalent to 'while,' whereas the ablative without the preposition would be the ablative of the instrument.

[3] *Diversis legionibus* is the ablative absolute; the structure of the sentence is an unusual one, and might have been—*diversae legiones aliae alia*, &c.

[4] *Aperto latere;* that is, on the left side from which the legions had withdrawn.

24. Eodem tempore equites nostri levisque armaturae pedites, qui cum iis una fuerant, quos primo hostium impetu pulsos dixeram, cum se in castra reciperent, adversis hostibus occurrebant[1] ac rursus aliam in partem fugam petebant, et calones, qui ab decumana porta[2] ac summo jugo collis nostros victores flumen transire conspexerant, praedandi causa egressi, cum respexissent et hostes in nostris castris versari vidissent, praecipites fugae sese mandabant. Simul eorum, qui cum impedimentis veniebant, clamor fremitusque oriebatur aliique aliam in partem perterriti ferebantur. Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis, qui auxilii causa ab civitate ad Caesarem missi venerant, cum multitudine hostium castra nostra compleri, nostras legiones premi et paene circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores, Numidas, diversos dissipatosque in omnes partes fugere vidissent, desperatis nostris rebus domum contenderunt: Romanos pulsos superatosque, castris impedimentisque eorum hostes potitos civitati renuntiaverunt.

25. Caesar ab decimae legionis cohortatione[3] ad dextrum cornu profectus, ubi suos urgeri signisque in unum locum collatis duodecimae legionis confertos milites sibi ipsos ad pugnam esse impedimento vidit, quartae cohortis omnibus centurionibus occisis signiferoque interfecto, signo amisso, reliquarum cohortium omnibus fere centurionibus aut vulneratis aut occisis, in his primipilo[4] P. Sextio Baculo, fortissimo viro, multis gravibusque vulneribus confecto, ut jam se sustinere non posset, reliquos esse tardiores, et nonnullos ab novissimis deserto proelio excedere ac tela vitare, hostes neque a fronte ex inferiore loco subeuntes intermittere et ab utroque latere instare, et rem esse in angusto vidit, neque ullum esse

[1] That is, as they entered the camp, they saw before them the enemies, who were already in the Roman camp.

[2] A Roman camp had four gates: the one in the front, being the principal gate, was called *porta praetoria;* two on the sides of the camp, one being the *porta principalis dextra*, and the other the *porta principalis sinistra;* and the one at the back, just opposite the *porta praetoria*, was called the *porta decumana*, from the tenth cohorts of the legions, which had their place there.

[3] As was mentioned in chap. 21, for in all that has been related, from chap. 21 down to the 24th, Caesar had not taken any part.

[4] The *primipilus* was the centurio or captain of the *triarii* of the highest rank; he sat in the council of war, and had to keep the standard of the legion.

subsidium, quod submitti posset, scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto, quod ipse eo sine scuto venerat, in primam aciem processit centurionibusque nominatim appellatis reliquos cohortatus milites signa inferre et manipulos laxare jussit, quo facilius gladiis uti possent. Cujus adventu spe illata militibus ac redintegrato animo, cum pro se quisque[1] in conspectu imperatoris etiam in extremis suis rebus operam navare cuperet, paulum hostium impetus tardatus est.

26. Caesar, cum septimam legionem, quae juxta constiterat, item urgeri ab hoste vidisset, tribunos militum monuit, ut paulatim sese legiones conjungerent et conversa signa[2] in hostes inferrent. Quo facto, cum alius alii subsidium ferret, neque timerent, ne aversi[3] ab hoste circumvenirentur, audacius resistere ac fortius pugnare coeperunt. Interim milites legionum duarum, quae in novissimo agmine praesidio impedimentis fuerant, proelio nuntiato cursu incitato in summo colle ab hostibus conspiciebantur;[4] et Titus Labienus castris hostium potitus et ex loco superiore, quae res in nostris castris gererentur, conspicatus decimam legionem subsidio nostris misit. Qui cum ex equitum et calonum fuga, quo in loco res esset, quantoque in periculo et castra et legiones et imperator versaretur, cognovissent, nihil ad celeritatem sibi reliqui fecerunt.[5]

27. Horum adventu tanta rerum commutatio est facta, ut nostri etiam qui vulneribus confecti procubuissent, scutis innixi proelium redintegrarent, tum calones perterritos hostes conspicati etiam inermes armatis occurrerent, equites vero, ut turpitudinem fugae virtute delerent, omnibus in locis pugnae se legionariis militibus praeferrent.[6] At hostes etiam in extrema spe salutis tantam virtutem praestiterunt, ut, cum primi eorum cecidissent, proximi jacentibus insisterent atque ex eorum corporibus pugnarent; his dejectis et coacervatis cada-

[1] That is, each for himself, and without looking to see what his neighbours did.

[2] *Conversa signa* seems to signify that the two legions here united, looked in different directions, so that the back of the one was protected by the other.

[3] *Aversi*, 'in their rear.'

[4] *Cursu incitato conspiciebantur;* that is, *cursum incitaverant et jam conspiciebantur.*

[5] That is, as far as speed is concerned, they did all they could.

[6] That is, they everywhere endeavoured to engage with the enemy before the legionarii, who were accordingly left behind.

veribus qui superessent, ut ex tumulo, tela in nostros conjicerent et pila intercepta remitterent: ut non nequicquam tantae virtutis homines judicari deberet ausos esse transire latissimum flumen, ascendere altissimas ripas, subire iniquissimum locum: quae facilia ex difficillimis animi magnitudo redegerat.[1]

28. Hoc proelio facto et prope ad internicionem gente ac nomine Nerviorum redacto majores natu, quos una cum pueris mulieribusque in aestuaria ac paludes collectos dixeramus, hac pugna nuntiata, cum victoribus nihil impeditum, victis nihil tutum arbitrarentur, omnium, qui supererant, consensu legatos ad Caesarem miserunt seque ei dediderunt, et in commemoranda civitatis calamitate ex sexcentis ad tres senatores, ex hominum milibus LX. vix ad quingentos, qui arma ferre possent, sese redactos esse dixerunt. Quos Caesar, ut in miseros ac supplices usus misericordia videretur, diligentissime conservavit suisque finibus atque oppidis uti jussit, et finitimis imperavit, ut ab injuria et maleficio se suosque prohiberent.[2]

29. Aduatuci, de quibus supra scripsimus, quum omnibus copiis auxilio Nerviis venirent, hac pugna nuntiata ex itinere domum reverterunt; cunctis oppidis castellisque desertis sua omnia in unum oppidum[3] egregie natura munitum contulerunt. Quod cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet, una ex parte leniter acclivis aditus in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum[4] relinquebatur; quem locum duplici altissimo muro[5] munierant, tum magni ponderis saxa et praeacutas trabes in muro collocarant. Ipsi erant ex Cimbris Teutonisque prognati, qui, cum iter in provinciam nostram atque Italiam facerent, iis impedimentis,

[1] *Redigere* here has the same meaning as *reddere*, 'to make,' or 'change a thing from one condition to another.'

[2] *Prohiberent* here belongs to both *se* and *suos*, though 'to restrain one's self' alone can scarcely be expressed by *se prohibere*, but must be rendered either by *abstinere* or *se abstinere.*

[3] What town is meant here is uncertain; some believe that it was the modern town of Namur, and others think that it was Falais. According to the description here given, it was situated on a lofty rock, which was steep on all sides but one, where the rock formed a gentle slope.

[4] The genitive *ducentorum pedum* is governed by *aditus.*

[5] *Duplex murus;* these two words form, as it were, only one idea, whence there is no necessity for introducing *et* between *duplici* and *altissimo.*

quae secum agere ac portare non poterant, citra flumen Rhenum depositis custodiam ex suis ac praesidio sex milia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi post eorum obitum[1] multos annos a finitimis exagitati, cum alias bellum inferrent, alias illatum defenderent, consensu eorum[2] omnium pace facta, hunc sibi domicilio locum delegerunt.

30. Ac primo adventu[3] exercitus nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant parvulisque proeliis cum nostris contendebant: postea vallo pedum XII. in circuitu quindecim milium crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis, aggere exstructo turrim procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro atque increpitare vocibus, quod tanta machinatio ab[4] tanto spatio instrueretur: quibusnam[5] manibus aut quibus viribus praesertim homines tantulae staturae (nam plerumque omnibus Gallis prae magnitudine corporum suorum brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muro sese collocare confiderent?

31. Ubi vero moveri et appropinquare moenibus viderunt, nova atque inusitata specie commoti legatos ad Caesarem de pace miserunt, qui ad hunc modum locuti: non existimare[6] Romanos sine ope divina bellum gerere, qui tantae altitudinis machinationes tanta celeritate promovere possent, se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere dixerunt. Unum petere ac deprecari:[7] si forte pro sua clementia ac mansuetudine, quam ipsi ab aliis audirent, statuisset, Aduatucos esse conservandos, ne se armis despoliaret. Sibi omnes fere finitimos esse inimicos ac suae virtuti invidere; a quibus se defendere traditis armis non possent. Sibi praestare, si in eum casum de-

[1] *Obitus* is here used of the destruction of the Cimbri and Teutoni by Marius, though it commonly signifies the death of an individual.

[2] The word *eorum* refers both to *hi*, the subject of the leading clause, and to those with whom they had been at war.

[3] Compare i. 22, note 3.

[4] See chap. 7, note 1.

[5] Before *quibusnam* must be understood some word expressing the wonder of the Aduatuci, which is implied in the expression *vocibus increpitare*.

[6] Namely, *se*. What here follows, down to *possent*, depends upon the participle *locuti*, and forms only the introduction to the speech of the Aduatici, the sum and substance of it being contained in the words which follow.

[7] That is, 'they requested that he would not do one thing.'

ducerentur, quamvis fortunam a populo Romano pati, quam ab his per cruciatum interfici, inter quos dominari consuessent.

32. Ad haec Caesar respondit: se magis consuetudine sua, quam merito eorum civitatem conservaturum, si prius, quam murum aries attigisset, se dedidissent; sed deditionis nullam esse conditionem, nisi armis traditis. Se id, quod in Nerviis fecisset,[1] facturum finitimisque imperaturum, ne quam dediticiis populi Romani injuriam inferrent. Renuntiata ad suos quae imperarentur, facere dixerunt. Armorum magna multitudine de muro in fossam, quae erat ante oppidum, jacta, sic ut prope summam muri aggerisque[2] altitudinem acervi armorum adaequarent, et tamen circiter parte tertia, ut postea perspectum est, celata atque in oppido retenta, portis patefactis, eo die pace sunt usi.

33. Sub vesperum Caesar portas claudi militesque ex oppido exire jussit, ne quam noctu oppidani ab militibus injuriam acciperent. Illi ante inito, ut intellectum est, consilio, quod deditione facta nostros praesidia deducturos aut denique[3] indiligentius servaturos crediderant, partim cum his, quae retinuerant et celaverant, armis, partim scutis ex cortice factis aut viminibus intextis, quae subito, ut temporis exiguitas postulabat, pellibus induxerant, tertia vigilia qua minime arduus ad nostras munitiones ascensus videbatur, omnibus copiis repentino ex oppido eruptionem fecerunt. Celeriter,[4] ut ante Caesar imperarat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eo concursum est, pugnatumque ab hostibus ita acriter est, ut a viris fortibus in extrema spe salutis iniquo loco contra eos, qui ex vallo turribusque tela jacerent, pugnari debuit, cum in una virtute omnis spes salutis consisteret. Occisis ad[5] hominum milibus quatuor reliqui in oppidum rejecti sunt. Postridie ejus diei refractis portis, cum jam defenderet nemo, atque intromissis militibus nos-

[1] See chap. 28.

[2] The *agger* here mentioned is the mound constructed by the Romans, which seems to have been almost as high as the double wall of the town of the Aduatuci.

[3] *Denique* here has the meaning of 'at least.'

[4] *Celeriter* belongs to the words *ignibus significatione facta;* that is, *signo dato.*

[5] *Ad* is here used as an adverb, like *circiter*, and there is no need for changing *milibus* into *milia.*

tris sectionem[1] ejus oppidi universam Caesar vendidit. Ab his, qui emerant, capitum numerus ad eum relatus est milium quinquaginta trium.

34. Eodem tempore a Publio Crasso, quem cum legione una miserat ad Venetos, Unellos, Osismos, Curiosolitas, Sesuvios, Aulercos, Redones, quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt, certior factus est omnes eas civitates in deditionem potestatemque populi Romani esse redactas.

35. His rebus gestis omni Gallia pacata, tanta hujus belli ad barbaros opinio perlata est, uti ab his nationibus, quae trans Rhenum incolerent,[2] mitterentur legati ad Caesarem, qui se obsides daturas, imperata facturas pollicerentur. Quas legationes Caesar, quod in Italiam Illyricumque properabat, inita proxima aestate ad se reverti jussit. Ipse in Carnutes, Andes Turonesque, quae civitates propinquae his locis erant, ubi bellum gesserat, legionibus in hibernacula deductis in Italiam profectus est. Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dies quindecim[3] supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli.

[1] That is, all the booty that was taken, consisting of all kinds of moveable property and men. Those who purchased on such occasions wholesale, afterwards retailed the goods to others; and this retailing was called *secare*. Hence *sectio* signifies all the goods which are afterwards to be retailed.

[2] This subjunctive depends upon *quae*, which contains the idea of 'although' (*quum*). Namely, although they lived beyond the Rhine, and thus had nothing to fear, still they sent ambassadors, &c.

[3] *Dies quindecim* is the accusative, expressing duration of time, and must be connected with *supplicatio;* so that it is equivalent to *supplicatio quindecim dierum*, or *per quindecim dies*. A *supplicatio* is a public thanksgiving decreed by the senate for the purpose of thanking the gods for the success with which a general had conducted any military undertaking. See Livy, x. 21, xxii. 10.

LIBER III.

Cum in Italiam proficisceretur Caesar, Servium Galbam cum legione duodecima et parte equitatus in Nantuates, Veragros Sedunosque misit, qui a finibus Allobrogum et lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano ad summas Alpes pertinent. Causa mittendi fuit quod iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque cum portoriis[1] mercatores ire consuerant, patefieri volebat. Huic permisit, si opus esse arbitraretur, uti in his locis legionem hiemandi causa collocaret. Galba secundis aliquot proeliis factis castellisque compluribus eorum expugnatis, missis ad eum undique legatis obsidibusque datis et pace facta, constituit cohortes duas in Nantuatibus collocare et ipse cum reliquis ejus legionis cohortibus in vico Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus,[2] hiemare; qui vicus positus in valle non magna adjecta planitie altissimis montibus undique continetur. Cum hic in duas partes flumine divideretur, alteram partem ejus vici Gallis ad hiemandum concessit, alteram vacuam ab illis relictam cohortibus attribuit. Eum locum vallo fossaque munivit.

2. Cum dies hibernorum[3] complures transissent, frumentumque eo comportari jussisset, subito per exploratores certior factus est ex ea parte vici, quam Gallis concesserat, omnes noctu discessisse, montesque, qui impenderent, a maxima multitudine Sedunorum et Veragrorum teneri. Id[4] aliquot de causis acciderat, ut subito Galli belli renovandi legionisque opprimendae consilium caperent: primum, quod legionem neque eam plenissimam detractis cohortibus duabus, et compluribus singillatim, qui commeatus petendi causa missi erant,

[1] *Portoria* are, in the first place, port duties, and, secondly, duties paid on the importation, exportation, and the transmission of goods through a country; and the last of these duties are those here alluded to.

[2] *Octodurus* is believed to be the modern town of Martinach in the canton the Vaux.

[3] *Hiberna* is here the time spent in winter-quarters; but the *eo* which follows refers to the *hiberna castra*, or the place in which the *hiberna* were.

[4] *Id* refers to what precedes, and the clause beginning with *ut* down to *caperent* contains a further explanation of *id*. Compare vi. 14.

absentibus, propter paucitatem despiciebant; tum etiam, quod propter iniquitatem loci, cum ipsi ex montibus in vallem decurrerent et tela conjicerent, ne primum quidem posse impetum suum sustineri existimabant. Accedebat quod suos ab se liberos abstractos obsidum nomine dolebant, et Romanos non solum itinerum causa, sed etiam perpetuae possessionis culmina Alpium occupare conari et ea loca finitimae provinciae adjungere sibi persuasum habebant.

3. His nuntiis acceptis Galba, cum neque opus hibernorum munitionesque plene essent perfectae, neque de frumento reliquoque commeatu satis esset provisum, quod deditione facta obsidibusque acceptis nihil de bello timendum existimaverat, consilio celeriter convocato sententias exquirere coepit. Quo in consilio, cum tantum repentini periculi praeter opinionem accidisset, ac jam omnia fere superiora loca multitudine armatorum completa conspicerentur, neque subsidio veniri neque commeatus supportari interclusis itineribus possent, prope jam desperata salute nonnullae hujusmodi sententiae dicebantur, ut impedimentis relictis eruptione facta iisdem itineribus, quibus eo pervenissent, ad salutem contenderent. Majori tamen parti placuit hoc reservato ad extremum consilio interim rei eventum experiri[1] et castra defendere.

4. Brevi spatio interjecto, vix ut his rebus, quas constituissent,[2] collocandis atque administrandis tempus daretur, hostes ex omnibus partibus signo dato decurrere, lapides gaesaque[3] in vallum conjicere. Nostri primo integris viribus fortiter repugnare neque ullum frustra telum ex loco superiore mittere, ut quaeque pars castrorum nudata defensoribus premi videbatur, eo occurrere et auxilium ferre, sed hoc superari,[4] quod diuturnitate pugnae hostes defessi proelio excedebant, alii integris viribus succedebant; quarum rerum a nostris propter paucitatem fieri nihil poterat, ac non modo[5] defesso

[1] *Eventum expiriri*, to wait for the result of the operations of the barbarians.

[2] *Constituissent*; namely, *collocare atque administrare.* The subject of *constituissent* is *Romani.*

[3] *Gaesa*, javelins which were used apparently by all Celtic tribes, whence we find them mentioned not only in Gaul, Spain, and among the Alpine tribes, but also in Italy.

[4] *Superari*, 'to be under a disadvantage.'

[5] Compare ii. 17, note 1.

ex pugna excedendi, sed ne saucio quidem ejus loci, ubi constiterat, relinquendi ac sui recipiendi facultas dabatur.

5. Cum jam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur, ac non solum vires, sed etiam tela nostris deficerent, atque hostes acrius instarent languidioribusque nostris[1] vallum scindere et fossas complere coepissent, resque esset jam ad extremum perducta casum,[2] Publius Sextius Baculus, primi pili centurio, quem Nervico proelio compluribus confectum vulneribus diximus,[3] et item Caius Volusenus, tribunus militum, vir et consilii magni et virtutis, ad Galbam adcurrunt atque unam esse spem[4] salutis docent, si eruptione facta extremum auxilium experirentur. Itaque convocatis centurionibus celeriter milites certiores facit, paulisper intermitterent[5] proelium ac tantummodo tela missa exciperent seque ex labore reficerent; post dato signo e castris erumperent atque omnem spem salutis in virtute ponerent.

6. Quod jussi sunt, faciunt ac subito omnibus portis eruptione facta neque cognoscendi, quid fieret, neque sui colligendi[6] hostibus facultatem relinquunt. Ita commutata fortuna eos, qui in spem potiundorum castrorum venerant, undique circumventos interficiunt et ex hominum milibus amplius XXX., quem numerum barbarorum ad castra venisse constabat, plus tertia parte interfecta reliquos perterritos in fugam conjiciunt ac ne in locis quidem superioribus consistere patiuntur. Sic omnibus hostium copiis fusis armisque exutis se in castra munitionesque suas recipiunt. Quo proelio facto, quod saepius fortunam tentare Galba nolebat atque alio se in hiberna consilio venisse meminerat,[7] aliis occurrisse rebus viderat,

[1] *Languidioribus nostris* is the ablative absolute: *quum nostri jam languidiores essent.*

[2] *Casus extremus* is here the extreme misfortune that can befall a besieged army.

[3] See ii. 25.

[4] *Una spes* here is not 'one hope,' but 'the only hope.' See v. 29.

[5] *Certiores facit—intermitterent*, is a singular construction, there being no fact or object of which Galba informs his men, except his will or desire, which is understood, and on which the subjunctive *intermitterent* is dependent.

[6] *Sui colligendi* here, as *sui recipiendi* in chap. 4, is an unusual expression, instead of *se colligendi;* the *sui* must be taken as a plural. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 660.

[7] He had probably taken up his winter quarters with the intention

maxime frumenti commeatusque inopia permotus postero die omnibus ejus vici aedificiis incensis in provinciam reverti contendit, ac nullo hoste prohibente aut iter demorante incolumem legionem in Nantuatis, inde in Allobroges perduxit ibique hiemavit.

7. His rebus gestis, cum omnibus de causis Caesar pacatam Galliam existimaret, superatis Belgis, expulsis Germanis, victis in Alpibus Sedunis, atque ita[1] inita hieme Illyricum profectus esset, quod eas quoque nationes adire et regiones cognoscere volebat, subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est. Ejus belli haec fuit causa. Publius Crassus[2] adolescens cum legione septima proximus mare Oceanum in Andibus hiemarat. Is, quod in his locis inopia frumenti erat, praefectos tribunosque militum complures in finitimas civitates frumenti causa dimisit; quo in numero erat Titus Terrasidius, missus in Sesuvios, Marcus Trebius Gallus in Curiosolitas, Quintus Velanius cum Tito Silio in Venetos.

8. Hujus est civitatis[3] longe amplissima auctoritas omnis orae maritimae regionum earum, quod et naves habent Veneti plurimas, quibus in Britanniam navigare consuerunt, et scientia atque usu nauticarum rerum reliquos antecedunt et in magno impetu maris atque aperto[4] paucis portibus interjectis, quos tenent ipsi, omnes fere, qui eo mari uti consuerunt, habent vectigales. Ab his fit initium retinendi[5] Silii atque Velanii, quod per eos suos se obsides, quos Crasso dedissent, recuperaturos existimabant. Horum auctoritate finitimi adducti (ut sunt Gallorum subita[6] et repentina consilia) eadem de causa Trebium Terrasidiumque retinent et celeriter missis legatis

of enjoying peace, of restoring his men, and living on terms of friendship with the barbarians.

[1] *Ita* here signifies, 'for these reasons.'

[2] Compare i. 52, ii. 34.

[3] *Civitatis;* namely, of the *Veneti.*

[4] *Aperto* is here joined to *impetu maris*, 'the impetuosity of the sea,' though it should properly belong to the sea itself. The preposition *in* here indicates the cause from which the state of things described arises: 'as the open sea is very impetuous,' &c.

[5] That is, they were the first who kept back the Roman envoys, and those whom they did keep back were Silius and Velanius.

[6] *Subita* are things which are done quickly, while *repentina* are things that happen unexpectedly, or differ from the ordinary course of things to which we are accustomed. The one is derived from *subire*, and the other from *repere.*

per suos principes inter se conjurant nihil, nisi communi consilio acturos eundemque omnis fortunae exitum esse laturos, reliquasque civitates sollicitant, ut in ea libertate, quam a majoribus acceperant, permanere, quam Romanorum servitutem perferre mallent. Omni ora maritima celeriter ad suam sententiam perducta communem legationem ad P. Crassum mittunt: si velit suos recipere, obsides sibi remittat.

9. Quibus de rebus Caesar ab Crasso certior factus, quod ipse aberat longius, naves interim longas[1] aedificari in flumine Ligere,[2] quod influit in Oceanum, remiges ex provincia institui, nautas gubernatoresque comparari jubet. His rebus celeriter administratis ipse, cum primum per anni tempus potuit, ad exercitum contendit. Veneti reliquaeque item civitates cognito Caesaris adventu certiores facti,[3] simul quod quantum in se facinus admisissent, intelligebant, legatos, quod nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum inviolatumque semper fuisset, retentos a se et in vincula conjectos, pro magnitudine periculi bellum parare et maxime ea, quae ad usum navium pertinent, providere instituunt, hoc majore spe, quod multum natura loci confidebant. Pedestria esse itinera concisa aestuariis, navigationem impeditam propter inscientiam locorum paucitatemque portuum sciebant, neque nostros exercitus propter frumenti inopiam diutius apud se morari posse confidebant; ac jam ut[4] omnia contra opinionem acciderent, tamen se plurimum navibus posse, Romanos neque ullam facultatem habere navium neque eorum locorum, ubi bellum gesturi essent, vada, portus, insulas novisse; ac longe aliam esse navigationem in concluso mari atque in vastissimo atque apertissimo Oceano perspiciebant. His initis consiliis oppida muniunt, frumenta ex agris in oppida comportant, naves in Venetiam,[5] ubi Caesarem primum esse bellum gesturum constabat, quam plurimas possunt, cogunt. Socios sibi ad id bellum Osismos, Lexovios,

[1] *Naves longae* are ships of war, as distinguished from the more bulky transports, or *naves onerariae.*

[2] The river Liger is the modern Loire.

[3] *Certiores facti;* that is, having learned by the arrival of Caesar what they had to expect; namely, that they would have to carry on the war, not against Crassus, but against Caesar himself.

[4] *Ut* here, as in many other passages, signifies, 'granting that,' or 'supposing that.'

[5] *Venetia* here is not a town, but the country of the Veneti.

Nannetes, Ambiliatos, Morinos, Diablintres, Menapios adsciscunt: auxilia ex Britannia, quae contra eas regiones[1] posita est, arcessunt.

10. Erant hae difficultates belli gerendi, quas supra ostendimus, sed multa Caesarem tamen ad id bellum incitabant: injuriae retentorum equitum[2] Romanorum, rebellio facta post deditionem, defectio datis obsidibus, tot civitatum conjuratio, in primis ne hac parte neglecta reliquae nationes sibi idem licere arbitrarentur. Itaque cum intelligeret omnes fere Gallos novis rebus studere et ad bellum mobiliter celeriterque excitari, omnes autem homines natura libertati studere et conditionem servitutis odisse, priusquam plures civitates conspirarent, partiendum sibi ac latius distribuendum exercitum putavit.

11. Itaque Titum Labienum legatum in Treviros, qui proximi flumini Rheno sunt, cum equitatu mittit. Huic mandat, Remos reliquosque Belgas adeat atque in officio contineat, Germanosque, qui auxilio a Belgis arcessiti dicebantur, si per vim navibus flumen transire conentur, prohibeat. P. Crassum cum cohortibus legionariis XII.[3] et magno numero equitatus in Aquitaniam proficisci jubet, ne his ex nationibus auxilia in Galliam mittantur, ac tantae nationes[4] conjungantur. Quintum Titurium Sabinum legatum cum legionibus tribus in Unellos, Curiosolites Lexoviosque mittit, qui eam manum distinendam curet. Decimum Brutum adolescentem classi Gallicisque navibus, quas ex Pictonibus et Santonis reliquisque pacatis regionibus convenire jusserat, praeficit et cum primum posset, in Venetos proficisci jubet. Ipse eo pedestribus copiis contendit.

12. Erant ejusmodi fere situs oppidorum, ut posita in extremis lingulis promontoriisque neque pedibus aditum habe-

[1] That is, opposite to those districts; he probably means the districts inhabited by the allies of the Veneti.

[2] The *equites* are the ambassadors, who were persons of equestrian rank, and the *injuriae retentorum equitum* is the wrong consisting in detaining them, though, as far as the words are concerned, Caesar also may allude to wrongs that were done to the ambassadors after their detention.

[3] A Roman legion consisted of ten cohorts, so that Crassus had one entire legion and two cohorts.

[4] Namely, the Gauls and Aquitanians.

rent, cum ex a to se aestus incitavisset, quod his[1] accidit semper horarum XII. spatio, neque navibus, quod rursus minuente aestu naves in vadis afflictarentur.[2] Ita utraque re oppidorum oppugnatio impediebatur; ac si quando magnitudine operis forte superati, extruso mari[3] aggere ac molibus, atque his[4] oppidi moenibus adaequatis, suis fortunis desperare coeperant, magno numero navium appulso, cujus rei summam facultatem habebant, sua deportabant omnia seque in proxima oppida recipiebant: ibi se rursus iisdem opportunitatibus loci defendebant. Haec eo facilius magnam partem aestatis faciebant, quod nostrae naves tempestatibus detinebantur summaque erat vasto atque aperto mari, magnis aestibus, raris ac prope nullis portibus,[5] difficultas navigandi.

13. Namque ipsorum naves ad hunc modum factae armataeque erant: carinae aliquanto planiores, quam nostrarum navium, quo facilius vada ac decessum aestus excipere[6] possent; prorae admodum erectae, atque item puppes ad magnitudinem fluctuum tempestatumque accommodatae; naves totae factae ex robore ad quamvis vim et contumeliam[7] perferendam; transtra[8] pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine; ancorae pro funibus ferreis catenis revinctae; pelles pro velis alutaeque tenuiter confectae, sive propter lini inopiam atque ejus usus inscientiam, sive eo, quod est magis verisimile, quod tantas tempestates Oceani tantosque impetus ventorum sustineri ac tanta

[1] *His* refers to the Gauls inhabiting the sea-coast.

[2] The subjunctive here denotes mere possibility; since the ships might or would be injured, if, &c.

[3] *Extruso mari*, when the sea was kept off, or warded off by mounds and dikes.

[4] Namely, the *agger* and *moles*.

[5] All these ablatives, from *vasto* to *portibus*, are ablatives absolute: 'as the sea was vast and open, the tides strong,' &c.

[6] *Excipere possent*, that they might be able to meet; the ships being here conceived as an army that meets the dangers arising from shallows and low water.

[7] *Vis* and *contumelia* can, properly speaking, proceed only from persons, but here these words are transferred to the sea, the personification being continued from the preceding sentence; *contumelia*, therefore, is the same as *injuria*.

[8] The *transtra* here are not benches for the rowers, but beams running across the boat, so as to make it firm and strong.

onera navium regi velis non satis commode posse arbitrabantur. Cum his navibus nostrae classi ejusmodi congressus erat, ut una[1] celeritate et pulsu remorum praestaret, reliqua[2] pro loci natura, pro vi tempestatum illis essent aptiora et accommodatiora. Neque enim his nostrae rostro[3] nocere poterant (tanta in his erat firmitudo) neque propter altitudinem facile telum adjiciebatur, et eadem de causa minus commode copulis[4] continebantur. Accedebat ut, cum saevire ventus coepisset et se vento dedissent, et tempestatem ferrent facilius et in vadis consisterent tutius et ab aestu relictae nihil saxa et cautes timerent; quarum rerum omnium nostris navibus casus erat extimescendus.

14. Compluribus expugnatis oppidis Caesar, ubi intellexit frustra tantum laborem sumi neque hostium fugam captis oppidis reprimi neque his noceri posse, statuit exspectandam classem. Quae ubi convenit ac primum ab hostibus visa est, circiter CCXX. naves eorum paratissimae atque omni genere armorum[5] ornatissimae profectae ex portu nostris adversae constiterunt; neque satis Bruto, qui classi praeerat, vel tribunis militum centurionibusque, quibus singulae naves erant attributae, constabat, quid agerent, aut quam rationem pugnae insisterent.[6] Rostro enim noceri non posse cognoverant; turribus autem excitatis[7] tamen has altitudo puppium ex barbaris navibus superabat, ut neque ex inferiore loco satis commode tela adjici possent et missa ab Gallis gravius acciderent. Una

[1] *Una;* that is, *sola.* See chap. 5, note 4.

[2] That is, all other things, excepting swiftness and the management of the oars.

[3] *Rostrum*, or the beak of a ship, was a sharp and pointed iron attached to the prow of the ancient ships for the purpose of running into and breaking those of the enemy.

[4] *Copulae* are here what are elsewhere called *manus*, *manus ferreae*, or *harpagones;* that is, hooks which were fastened to a rope, and thrown upon the hostile ships, for the purpose of drawing them near, and of thus changing the sea-fight, as it were, into a land-fight.

[5] *Arma* comprises not only arms, but everything necessary for the equipment of a fleet, such as sails, ropes, anchors, &c.

[6] That is, *instituerent;* but *insisterent* contains the idea of great exertion and activity.

[7] The ablative absolute with the pronoun *has* after it, is properly an ungrammatical construction, but is used here with great emphasis for *turres excitatas altitudo superabat.*

erat magno usui res praeparata a nostris, falces praeacutae, insertae adfixaeque longuriis, non absimili forma muralium falcium.[1] His cum funes, qui antemnas ad malos destinabant,[2] comprehensi adductique erant, navigio remis incitato praerumpebantur. Quibus abscisis antemnae necessario concidebant, ut, cum omnis Gallicis navibus spes in velis armamentisque consisteret, his ereptis omnis usus navium uno tempore eriperetur. Reliquum erat certamen positum in virtute, qua nostri milites facile superabant, atque eo magis, quod in conspectu Caesaris atque omnis exercitus res gerebatur, ut nullum paulo fortius factum latere posset; omnes enim colles ac loca superiora, unde erat propinquus despectus in mare, ab exercitu tenebantur.

15. Disjectis ut diximus antemnis, cum singulas binae ac ternae naves circumsteterant, milites summa vi transcendere in hostium naves contendebant. Quod postquam barbari fieri animadverterunt, expugnatis compluribus navibus, cum ei rei nullum reperiretur auxilium, fuga salutem petere contenderunt; ac jam conversis in eam partem navibus, quo[3] ventus ferebat, tanta subito malacia ac tranquillitas[4] exstitit, ut se ex loco commovere non possent. Quae quidem res ad negotium conficiendem maxime fuit opportuna; nam singulas nostri consectati expugnaverunt, ut perpaucae ex omni numero noctis interventu ad terram pervenerint, cum ab hora fere quarta[5] usque ad solis occasum pugnaretur.

16. Quo proelio bellum Venetorum totiusque orae maritimae confectum est. Nam cum omnis juventus, omnes etiam gravioris aetatis, in quibus aliquid consilii aut dignitatis fuit, eo convenerant, tum navium quod ubique fuerat, in unum locum coegerant; quibus amissis reliqui neque quo se reciperent, neque quemadmodum oppida defenderent, habebant. Itaque se suaque omnia Caesari dediderunt. In quos eo gra-

[1] *Murales falces* were iron hooks fastened to long poles, by means of which the walls of a besieged town were pulled down, or the defenders of a wall dragged down.

[2] *Destinare* here has its primitive meaning, 'to fasten to.'

[3] *Quo;* that is, *in quam.*

[4] The two words *malacia* and *tranquillitas* explain each other; the former (the Greek μαλακία) being 'a calm,' and the latter the stillness prevailing during a calm.

[5] That is, from about ten o'clock in the morning.

vius Caesar vindicandum statuit, quo[1] diligentius in reliquum tempus a barbaris jus legatorum conservaretur. Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.[2]

17. Dum haec in Venetis geruntur, Quintus Titurius Sabinus cum his copiis, quas a Caesare acceperat, in fines Unellorum pervenit. His praeerat Viridovix ac summam imperii tenebat earum omnium civitatum, quae defecerant, ex quibus exercitum magnasque copias coegerat; atque his paucis diebus[3] Aulerci Eburovices[4] Lexoviique senatu suo interfecto, quod auctores belli esse nolebant,[5] portas clauserunt seque cum Viridovice conjunxerunt; magnaque praeterea multitudo undique ex Gallia perditorum hominum latronumque convenerat, quos spes praedandi studiumque bellandi ab agricultura et quotidiano labore revocabat. Sabinus idoneo omnibus rebus loco castris se tenebat, cum Viridovix contra eum duum milium spatio consedisset quotidieque productis copiis pugnandi potestatem faceret, ut jam non solum hostibus in contemptionem Sabinus veniret, sed etiam nostrorum militum vocibus nonnihil carperetur; tantamque opinionem timoris praebuit, ut jam ad vallum castrorum hostes accedere auderent. Id[6] ea de causa faciebat, quod cum tanta multitudine hostium, praesertim eo absente, qui summam imperii teneret, nisi aequo loco aut opportunitate aliqua data legato dimicandum non existimabat.

18. Hac confirmata opinione[7] timoris idoneum quendam hominem et callidum delegit, Gallum, ex his, quos auxilii

[1] The *eo* and *quo* in this passage have the same meaning as *ideo—ut*, 'for this reason—that.' If *eo* and *quo* were here used in their ordinary sense, Caesar would have said, *conservari volebat*, and not *conservaretur*.

[2] It was a custom among the earliest Romans, when they sold prisoners of war into slavery, to put wreaths (*corona*) on their heads, as a sign that they were prisoners of war; hence the expression, *sub corona vendere*, 'to sell a person as a slave.'

[3] Namely. in which Sabinus had gone to the country of the Unelli; that is, 'a few days after the arrival of Sabinus.'

[4] The *Aulerci Eburovices* are only one nation, *Aulerci* being their real name, and *Eburovices* a surname, since the Eburovices, like the Cenomani, were distinct tribes of the Aulerci. Compare vii. 75.

[5] *Nolebant;* namely, *senatores*, which is contained in *senatu*.

[6] Namely, to keep within his camp.

[7] Namely, the opinion which the enemies entertained of his cowardice and timidity.

causa secum habebat. Huic magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque persuadet, uti ad hostes transeat, et quid fieri velit, edocet. Qui ubi pro perfuga ad eos venit, timorem Romanorum proponit, quibus angustiis ipse Caesar a Venetis prematur, docet, neque longius[1] abesse, quin proxima nocte Sabinus clam ex castris exercitum educat et ad Caesarem auxilii ferendi causa proficiscatur. Quod ubi auditum est, conclamant omnes occasionem negotii bene gerendi amittendam non esse: ad castra iri oportere. Multae res ad hoc consilium Gallos hortabantur: superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio, perfugae confirmatio, inopia cibariorum, cui rei parum diligenter ab his erat provisum, spes Venetici belli, et quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt. His rebus adducti non prius Viridovicem reliquosque duces ex concilio dimittunt, quam ab his sit concessum, arma uti capiant et ad castra contendant. Qua re concessa laeti ut explorata victoria[2] sarmentis virgultisque collectis, quibus fossas Romanorum compleant, ad castra pergunt.

19. Locus erat castrorum editus et paulatim ab imo acclivis, circiter passus mille. Huc magno cursu contenderunt, ut quam minimum spatii ad se colligendos armandosque Romanis daretur, exanimatique pervenerunt. Sabinus suos hortatus cupientibus signum dat. Impeditis hostibus propter ea, quae ferebant, onera subito duabus portis eruptionem fieri jubet. Factum est opportunitate loci, hostium inscientia ac defatigatione, virtute militum et superiorum pugnarum exercitatione, ut ne unum quidem nostrorum impetum ferrent ac statim terga verterent. Quos impeditos integris viribus milites nostri consecuti magnum numerum eorum occiderunt; reliquos equites consectati paucos, qui ex fuga evaserant, reliquerunt. Sic uno tempore et de navali pugna Sabinus et de Sabini victoria Caesar certior factus, civitatesque omnes se statim Titurio dediderunt. Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer ac promptus est animus,[3] sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est.

[1] *Longius;* namely, *una nocte,* as is implied in the following clause, so that the comparative retains its proper force.

[2] That is, *ut certa victoria,* 'as though the victory were certain.'

[3] *Animus* is 'courage,' and *mens* 'mind,' or the power in us which thinks, and impels us to act.

20. Eodem fere tempore P. Crassus, cum in Aquitaniam pervenisset, quae pars, ut ante dictum est, et regionum latitudine et multitudine hominum ex tertia parte[1] Galliae est aestimanda, cum intelligeret in his locis sibi bellum gerendum, ubi paucis ante annis L. Valerius Praeconinus legatus exercitu pulso interfectus esset, atque unde L. Manlius proconsul impedimentis amissis profugisset,[2] non mediocrem sibi diligentiam adhibendam intelligebat. Itaque re frumentaria provisa auxiliis equitatuque comparato, multis praeterea viris fortibus Tolosa, Carcasone, et Narbone,[3] quae sunt civitates Galliae provinciae finitimae, ex his regionibus nominatim evocatis in Sontiatum fines exercitum introduxit. Cujus adventu cognito Sontiates magnis copiis coactis equitatuque, quo plurimum valebant, in itinere agmen nostrum adorti primum equestre proelium commiserunt, deinde equitatu suo pulso atque insequentibus nostris subito pedestres copias, quas in convalle in insidiis collocaverant, ostenderunt. Hi nostros disjectos adorti proelium renovarunt.

21. Pugnatum est diu atque acriter, cum Sontiates superioribus victoriis[4] freti in sua virtute totius Aquitaniae salutem positam putarent, nostri autem, quid sine imperatore et sine reliquis legionibus adolescentulo duce efficere possent, perspici cuperent: tandem confecti vulneribus hostes terga vertere. Quorum magno numero interfecto Crassus ex itinere oppidum Sontiatum[5] oppugnare coepit. Quibus fortiter resistentibus vineas turresque egit. Illi alias eruptione tentata, alias cuniculis[6] ad aggerem vineasque actis, cujus rei sunt

[1] *Ex tertia parte esse;* that is, *ex tertia parte constare,* to consist of the third part, or to form the third part.

[2] The occurrences here alluded to belong, in all probability, to the year B. C. 79. See Livy, *Epit.* 90; Oros. v. 23.

[3] The three cities here mentioned are the modern towns of Toulouse, Carcasone, and Narbonne. The ablatives may be explained as designating the places from which the men came: 'many brave men from Tolosa,' &c.; or they may be connected with *evocatis,* so that *ex his regionibus* is added by way of explanation; but the former explanation is preferable.

[4] Namely, those over L. Manlius and Valerius Praeconinus, mentioned in chap. 20.

[5] The town of the Sontiates is probably the modern Sots, which in the middle ages was called Sotia or Sotium.

[6] *Cuniculi* are subterraneous passages, by means of which the besieged sometimes tried to destroy the fortifications of the besiegers.

longe peritissimi Aquitani, propterea quod multis locis apud eos aerariae structuraeque[1] sunt, ubi diligentia nostrorum nihil his rebus profici posse intellexerunt, legatos ad Crassum mittunt seque in deditionem ut recipiant, petunt. Qua re impetrata arma tradere jussi faciunt.

22. Atque in ea re omnium nostrorum intentis animis alia ex parte oppidi Adiatunus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC. devotis, quos illi soldurios[2] apellant, quorum haec est conditio, ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dediderint, si quid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui eo interfecto, cujus se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret: cum his Adiatunus eruptionem facere conatus, clamore ab ea parte munitionis sublato, cum ad arma milites concurrissent, vehementerque ibi pugnatum esset, repulsus in oppidum tamen uti eadem deditionis conditione uteretur, ab Crasso impetravit.

23. Armis obsidibusque acceptis Crassus in fines Vocatium et Tarusatium profectus est. Tum vero barbari commoti, quod oppidum et natura loci et manu munitum paucis diebus, quibus[3] eo ventum erat, expugnatum cognoverant, legatos quoquoversum dimittere, conjurare, obsides inter se dare, copias parare coeperunt. Mittuntur etiam ad eas civitates legati, quae sunt citerioris Hispaniae finitimae[4] Aquitaniae: inde auxilia ducesque arcessuntur. Quorum adventu[5] magna cum auctoritate et magna cum hominum multitudine bellum gerere conantur. Duces vero ii deliguntur, qui una cum Q. Sertorio[6] omnes annos fuerant summamque scientiam rei

1 That is, 'mines, and subterraneous structures or passages,' the latter words being an explanation of the former.

2 The meaning of this Gallic word *soldurii* is probably expressed by the word *devoti*, and it is not very likely that, as some believe, the word is from the same root as our word *soldier*.

3 That is, 'a few days after they had arrived there.' See chap. 17.

4 That is, *quae in citeriore Hispania finitimae sunt Aquitaniae, finitimae* being the predicate to *quae*.

5 *Adventu* is the ablative of time, 'on their arrival.' Compare iv. 34, vii. 5.

6 Q. Sertorius, one of the greatest men of his time, fled from Rome at the time of Sulla's triumph, in B. C. 84, and established himself in Spain,

militaris habere existimabantur. Hi consuetudine populi Romani loca capere,[1] castra munire, commeatibus nostros intercludere instituunt. Quod[2] ubi Crassus animadvertit suas copias propter exiguitatem non facile diduci, hostem et vagari et vias obsidere et castris satis praesidii relinquere, ob eam causam minus commode frumentum commeatumque sibi supportari, in dies hostium numerum augeri, non cunctandum existimavit, quin pugna decertaret. Hac re ad consilium delata, ubi omnes idem sentire intellexit, posterum diem pugnae constituit.

24. Prima luce productis omnibus copiis, duplici acie instituta, auxiliis in mediam aciem conjectis, quid hostes consilii caperent, exspectabat. Illi, etsi propter multitudinem et veterem belli gloriam paucitatemque nostrorum se tuto dimicaturos existimabant, tamen tutius esse arbitrabantur, obsessis viis, commeatu intercluso, sine ullo vulnere victoria potiri, et si propter inopiam rei frumentariae Romani sese recipere coepissent, impeditos in agmine et sub sarcinis[3] infirmiore animo adoriri cogitabant. Hoc consilio probato ab ducibus, productis Romanorum copiis, sese castris tenebant. Hac re perspecta Crassus, cum sua cunctatione atque opinione timidiores hostes nostros milites alacriores ad pugnandum effecissent,[4] atque omnium voces audirentur exspectari diutius non opportere, quin ad castra iretur, cohortatus suos omnibus cupientibus ad hostium castra contendit.

25. Ibi cum alii fossas complerent, alii multis telis conjectis defensores vallo munitionibusque depellerent, auxiliaresque, quibus ad pugnam non multum Crassus confidebat, lapidibus telisque subministrandis et ad aggerem[5] cespitibus compor-

where he maintained himself by his humanity, prudence, and valour, until, in B. C. 72, he was treacherously murdered.

[1] *Capere* is here used in the sense of *deligere*, to choose a place for a camp.

[2] *Quod* is the object of the verb *animadvertit*, and is explained more fully by the clause beginning with *suas copias;* but it may be translated also by 'when therefore,' just as *quod si* and *quod nisi* signify 'if therefore,' and 'if therefore not,' or 'unless therefore.'

[3] See ii. 17, note 6.

[4] That is, as the too timid enemy, by their delay, and by the opinion which, by their delay, they had created among the Romans, had made our soldiers more courageous.

[5] Namely, *faciendum.*

tandis speciem atque opinionem pugnantium praeberent, cum item ab hostibus constanter[1] ac non timide pugnaretur, telaque ex loco superiore missa non frustra acciderent, equites circumitis hostium castris Crasso renuntiaverunt non eadem esse diligentia ab decumana porta castra munita facilemque aditum habere.

26. Crassus equitum praefectos cohortatus, ut magnis praemiis pollicitationibusque suos excitarent, quid fieri vellet, ostendit. Illi, ut erat imperatum, eductis IV. cohortibus, quae praesidio castris relictae intritae[2] ab labore erant, et longiore itinere circumductis, ne ex hostium castris conspici possent, omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis celeriter ad eas, quas diximus, munitiones pervenerunt, atque his prorutis prius in hostium castris constiterunt, quam plane ab his videri aut, quid rei gereretur, cognosci posset. Tum vero clamore ab ea parte audito nostri redintegratis viribus, quod plerumque in spe victoriae accidere consuevit, acrius impugnare coeperunt. Hostes undique circumventi, desperatis omnibus rebus, se per munitiones dejicere et fuga salutem petere intenderunt. Quos equitatus apertissimis campis consectatus, ex milium L. numero, quae ex Aquitania Cantabrisque convenisse constabat, vix quarta parte relicta, multa nocte se in castra recepit.

27. Hac audita pugna maxima pars Aquitaniae sese Crasso dedidit obsidesque ultro misit; quo in numero fuerunt Tarbelli, Bigerriones, Ptiani, Vocates, Tarusates, Elusates, Gates, Ausci, Garumni, Sibuzates, Cocosates: paucae ultimae nationes anni tempore confisae, quod hiems suberat, hoc facere neglexerunt.

28. Eodem fere tempore Caesar, etsi prope exacta jam aestas erat, tamen quod omni Gallia pacata Morini Menapiique supererant, qui in armis essent neque ad eum umquam legatos de pace misissent, arbitratus id bellum celeriter confici posse eo exercitum adduxit; qui longe alia ratione ac reliqui Galli bellum gerere coeperunt. Nam quod intelligebant maximas nationes, quae proelio contendissent, pulsas superatasque esse, continentesque silvas ac paludes habebant, eo se suaque om-

[1] That is, 'incessantly,' or 'without intermission.'

[2] *Intritae* is the same as *non tritae;* that is, 'not worn out,' or 'not fatigued.'

nia contulerunt. Ad quarum initium silvarum[1] cum Caesar pervenisset castraque munire instituisset, neque hostis interim visus esset, dispersis in opere nostris subito ex omnibus partibus silvae evolaverunt et in nostros impetum fecerunt. Nostri celeriter arma ceperunt eosque in silvas repulerunt, et compluribus interfectis longius[2] impeditioribus locis secuti paucos ex suis deperdiderunt.

29. Reliquis deinceps diebus Caesar silvas caedere instituit, et ne quis inermibus imprudentibusque[3] militibus ab latere impetus fieri posset, omnem eam materiam, quae erat caesa, conversam ad hostem collocabat et pro vallo ad utrumque latus exstruebat. Incredibili celeritate magno spatio paucis diebus confecto, cum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab nostris tenerentur, ipsi densiores silvas peterent, ejusmodi sunt tempestates consecutae, uti opus necessario intermitteretur, et continuatione imbrium diutius sub pellibus[4] milites contineri non possent. Itaque vastatis omnibus eorum agris, vicis aedificiisque incensis Caesar exercitum reduxit et in Aulercis Lexoviisque, reliquis item civitatibus, quae proxime bellum fecerant, in hibernis collocavit.

[1] The plural *silvae* shows that Caesar is here thinking of the parts of which the whole forest (*silva*) consisted. See ii. 19, note 4.

[2] Namely, 'than was right,' or 'advisable.'

[3] *Inermibus* and *imprudentibus* may either be ablatives absolute, or datives, dependent upon *impetus fieret*.

[4] *Sub pellibus;* that is, in their tents, which were covered with skins.



LIBER IV.

Ea, quae secuta est, hieme, qui fuit annus[1] Cneio Pompeio, Marco Crasso consulibus, Usipetes Germani et item Tencteri magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum transierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit.[2] Causa transeundi fuit quod ab Suevis complures annos exagitati bello premebantur et agri cultura prohibebantur. Suevorum gens est longe maxima et bellicosissima Germanorum omnium. Hi centum pagos habere dicuntur,[3] ex quibus quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa ex finibus educunt. Reliqui, qui domi manserunt, se atque illos alunt.[4] Hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent. Sic neque agri cultura nec ratio atque usus belli intermittitur. Sed privati ac separati agri apud eos nihil est, neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet. Neque multum frumento, sed maximam partem[5] lacte atque pecore vivunt multumque sunt in venationibus; quae res et cibi genere et quotidiana exercitatione et libertate vitae, quod a pueris nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant,[6] et vires alit et immani corporum magnitudine homines efficit. Atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pelles habeant quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et lavantur in fluminibus.

2. Mercatoribus est ad eos aditus magis eo, ut quae bello

[1] The year here mentioned is the year B. C. 55, at the beginning of which the German tribes, the Usipetes and Tencteri, crossed the Rhine. As the winter belonged partly to the year 56 and partly to 55, Caesar explains which part he means, by the words *qui annus fuit.*

[2] The point here alluded to seems to have been somewhat below the place where the Meuse flows into the Rhine.

[3] See i. 37.

[4] That is, they cultivate the fields, and thus prepare provisions for themselves and the warriors.

[5] This accusative may be termed the accusative of limitation, 'so far as the greatest part is concerned;' that is, 'for the most part.'

[6] The subjunctive *faciant* seems to indicate that the Germans themselves gave this account of their mode of living.

ceperint, quibus vendant, habeant, quam quo[1] ullam rem ad se importari desiderent. Quin etiam jumentis,[2] quibus maxime Galli delectantur quaeque impenso parant pretio, Germani importatis his non utuntur, sed quae sunt apud eos nata, prava atque deformia, haec quotidiana exercitatione summi ut sint laboris,[3] efficiunt. Equestribus proeliis saepe ex equis desiliunt ac pedibus proeliantur, equosque eodem remanere vestigio adsuefecerunt, ad quos se celeriter cum usus est, recipiunt; neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum quamvis pauci adire audent. Vinum ad se omnino importari non sinunt, quod ea re ad laborem ferendum remollescere homines atque effeminari arbitrantur.

3. Publice[4] maximam putant esse laudem quam latissime a suis finibus vacare agros: hac re significare magnum numerum civitatium suam vim sustinere non posse. Itaque una ex parte a Suevis[5] circiter milia passuum sexcenti agri vacare dicuntur. Ad alteram partem succedunt[6] Ubii, quorum fuit civitas ampla atque florens, ut est captus Germanorum, et paulo, quam sunt ejusdem generis,[7] sunt ceteris humaniores, propterea quod Rhenum attingunt multumque ad eos mercatores ventitant, et ipsi propter propinquitatem Gallicis sunt moribus adsuefacti. Hos cum Suevi multis saepe bellis experti propter amplitudinem gravitatemque[8] civitatis finibus expellere non potuissent, tamen vectigales sibi fecerunt ac multo humiliores infirmioresque redegerunt.

[1] The *quo* in this and similar sentences is equivalent to *eo quod*, or to the simple *quod*, 'because.'

[2] *Jumenta* are here horses, and not oxen or mules.

[3] That is, *ut summum laborem perferre possint.*

[4] That is, to the community or the nation, it is the greatest honour, if the adjoining country, far and wide, is *deserted* and *uncultivated;* for these two meanings are contained in *vacare.*

[5] *A Suevis;* that is, reckoning from the frontier of the Suevi.

[6] The *succedunt* and the preposition *ad* indicate that on the side where the Ubii lived near the Suevi, there was likewise a desolate tract of land between the two tribes.

[7] The meaning of this clause is: than other people who belong to the same race usually are. After *paulo* the word *magis* is to be understood, for to it *quam* refers.

[8] *Gravitas* here is power and strength. See Livy, xxxiv. 17, who uses *gravis* in the same sense.

4. In eadem causa[1] fuerunt Usipetes et Tencteri, quos supra diximus, qui complures annos Suevorum vim sustinuerunt; ad extremum tamen agris expulsi et multis locis Germaniae triennium vagati ad Rhenum pervenerunt; quas regiones Menapii incolebant et ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, aedificia vicosque habebant; sed tantae multitudinis aditu perterriti ex his aedificiis, quae trans flumen habuerant, demigraverunt et cis Rhenum dispositis praesidiis Germanos transire prohibebant. Illi, omnia experti, cum neque vi contendere propter inopiam navium neque clam transire propter custodias Menapiorum possent, reverti se in suas sedes regionesque simulaverunt, et tridui viam progressi rursus reverterunt atque omni hoc itinere una nocte equitatu confecto inscios inopinantesque Menapios oppresserunt, qui de Germanorum discessu per exploratores certiores facti sine metu trans Rhenum in suos vicos remigraverant. His interfectis navibusque eorum occupatis, priusquam ea pars Menapiorum, quae citra Rhenum quieta in suis sedibus erat, certior fieret, flumen transierunt atque omnibus eorum aedificiis occupatis reliquam partem hiemis se eorum copiis aluerunt.

5. His de rebus Caesar certior factus et infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum[2] existimavit. Est autem hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant et quod quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit, quaerant, et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint, pronuntiare cogant. His rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio poenitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant[3] et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant.

6. Qua consuetudine cognita Caesar, ne graviori bello occurreret,[4] maturius, quam consuerat, ad exercitum pro-

[1] *Causa* here is the same as *conditio*, 'in the same condition,' namely, as the Ubii.

[2] That is, not to leave to them the management of the war with the invaders.

[3] That is, as they acted in perfect reliance on such vague reports.

[4] *Occurrere* is here the same as *incidere*, 'to become involved.'

ficiscitur. Eo cum venisset, ea, quae fore suspicatus erat, facta cognovit: missas legationes ab nonnullis civitatibus ad Germanos, invitatosque eos, uti ab Rheno discederent, omniaque, quae postulassent, ab se[1] fore parata. Qua spe adducti Germani latius jam vagabantur et in fines Eburonum et Condrusorum, qui sunt Trevirorum clientes, pervenerant. Principibus Galliae evocatis Caesar ea, quae cognoverat, dissimulanda sibi existimavit, eorumque animis permulsis et confirmatis[2] equitatuque imperato bellum cum Germanis gerere constituit.

7. Re frumentaria comparata equitibusque delectis iter in ea loca facere coepit, quibus in locis esse Germanos audiebat. A quibus cum paucorum dierum iter abesset, legati ab his venerunt, quorum haec fuit oratio: Germanos neque priores populo Romano bellum inferre neque tamen recusare, si lacessantur, quin armis contendant, quod Germanorum consuetudo haec sit a majoribus tradita, quicumque bellum inferant, resistere[3] neque deprecari. Haec tamen dicere: venisse invitos, ejectos domo; si suam gratiam Romani velint, posse iis utiles esse amicos; vel sibi agros attribuant, vel patiantur eos tenere, quos armis possederint;[4] sese unis Suevis concedere,[5] quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares esse possint: reliquum quidem in terris esse neminem, quem non superare possint.

8. Ad haec quae visum est,[6] Caesar respondit; sed exitus fuit orationis: sibi nullam cum his amicitiam esse posse, si

[1] *Ab se*, 'on their part;' that is, on the part of those that desired the Germans to withdraw from the banks of the Rhine.

[2] Caesar comforted and encouraged them in regard to the calamities they were apprehending, though he kept secret the information respecting the Usipetes and Tencteri which he had obtained from other sources.

[3] *Resistere* requires *iis* to complete its meaning; but Caesar usually omits the pronoun *is* after *quicunque*. See i. 40, vii. 4.

[4] The verb *possidere* frequently signifies not actual possession, but the beginning of possession; that is, 'to take possession of.'

[5] *Concedere* is here used in the sense of the simple verb *cedere*, 'to yield.'

[6] Namely, *respondere*; that is, what appeared to him right that he should answer; what this was, we know not, as Caesar gives only the conclusion of his speech.

in Gallia remanerent; neque verum[1] esse qui suos fines tueri non potuerint, alienos occupare; neque ullos in Gallia vacare agros, qui dari tantae praesertim multitudini sine injuria possint; sed licere, si velint, in Ubiorum finibus considere, quorum sint legati apud se et de Suevorum injuriis querantur et a se auxilium petant: hoc se Ubiis imperaturum.[2]

9. Legati haec se ad suos relaturos dixerunt et re deliberata post diem tertium ad Caesarem reversuros: interea ne propius se castra moveret, petierunt. Ne id quidem Caesar ab se impetrari posse dixit. Cognoverat enim magnam partem equitatus ab his aliquot diebus ante praedandi frumentandique causa ad Ambivaritos trans Mosam[3] missam: hos exspectari equites atque ejus rei causa moram interponi arbitrabatur.

10. Mosa profluit ex monte Vosego, qui est in finibus Lingonum, et parte quadam ex Rheno recepta, quae appellatur Vahalis, insulam efficit Batavorum, neque longius ab Oceano milibus passuum LXXX. in Rhenum influit. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, et longo spatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Trevirorum citatus fertur, et ubi Oceano appropinquavit, in plures defluit partes multis ingentibusque insulis effectis, quarum pars magna a feris barbarisque nationibus incolitur, ex quibus sunt qui piscibus atque ovis avium vivere existimantur,[4] multisque capitibus[5] in Oceanum influit.

11. Caesar cum ab hoste non amplius passuum XII. milibus abesset, ut erat constitutum, ad eum legati revertuntur; qui in itinere congressi magnopere ne longius progrederetur, orabant. Cum id non impetrassent, petebant, uti ad eos

1 *Verum* is sometimes used in the sense of 'consistent,' or 'in accordance with the nature of things.'

2 Caesar could promise that he would command the Ubii, because, as we learn from chap. 16, he had hostages of the Ubii in his possession.

3 The *Mosa* is the modern river Meuse, which empties itself into the main arm of the Rhine at Workum, which is called Waal (Vahalis), below Nimeguen.

4 The indicative *existimantur* is here used, because the preceding *sunt qui* is equivalent to *nonnulli*, and does not convey the notion of a quality in those nations that might lead to the belief; if the latter were the case, the subjunctive would have been used.

5 *Capita* has here the meaning of *ostia*, or mouths.

equites, qui agmen antecessissent, praemitteret eosque pugna prohiberet, sibique ut potestatem faceret in Ubios legatos mittendi; quorum si principes ac senatus sibi jurejurando fidem fecisset,[1] ea conditione, quae a Caesare ferretur, se usuros ostendebant: ad has res conficiendas sibi tridui spatium daret. Haec omnia Caesar eodem illo pertinere arbitrabatur, ut tridui mora interposita equites eorum, qui abessent, reverterentur: tamen sese non longius milibus passuum quatuor aquationis causa processurum eo die dixit: huc postero die quam frequentissimi convenirent, ut de eorum postulatis cognosceret. Interim ad praefectos, qui cum omni equitatu antecesserant, mittit qui nuntiarent, ne hostes proelio lacesserent, et si ipsi lacesserentur, sustinerent, quoad ipse cum exercitu propius accessisset.

12. At hostes, ubi primum nostros equites conspexerunt, quorum erat V. milium numerus, cum ipsi non amplius octingentos equites haberent, quod ii, qui frumentandi causa ierant trans Mosam, nondum redierant, nihil timentibus nostris, quod legati eorum paulo ante a Caesare discesserant atque is dies induciis erat ab his petitus, impetu facto celeriter nostros perturbaverunt. Rursus[2] resistentibus consuetudine sua ad pedes desiluerunt, subfossis equis compluribusque nostris dejectis reliquos in fugam conjecerunt atque ita perterritos egerunt, ut non prius fuga desisterent, quam in conspectum agminis nostri venissent. In eo proelio ex equitibus nostris interficiuntur IV. et LXX., in his vir fortissimus Piso,[3] Aquitanus, amplissimo genere natus, cujus avus in civitate sua regnum obtinuerat amicus ab senatu nostro appellatus. Hic cum fratri intercluso ab hostibus auxilium ferret, illum ex periculo eripuit, ipse equo vulnerato dejectus, quoad potuit, fortissime restitit: cum circumventus multis vulneribus acceptis cecidisset, atque id frater, qui jam proelio excesserat, procul animadvertisset, incitato equo se hostibus obtulit atque interfectus est.

[1] The singular *fecisset* is here used, because the *principes* and the *senatus* are in reality only one and the same body of men, and the *ac* which connects the two is the same as *id est.*

[2] *Rursus* here has the meaning of *vicissim*, 'in their turn:' as, in their turn (our men) offered resistance.

[3] As Piso is a Roman name, his grandfather, who had been honoured by the Roman people, had probably received the Roman franchise.

13. Hoc facto proelio Caesar neque jam sibi legatos audiendos neque conditiones accipiendas arbitrabatur ab his, qui per dolum atque insidias petita pace ultro bellum intulissent: exspectare vero, dum hostium copiae augerentur equitatusque reverteretur, summae dementiae esse judicabat, et cognita Gallorum infirmitate, quantum jam apud eos hostes uno proelio auctoritatis essent consecuti, sentiebat; quibus[1] ad consilia capienda nihil spatii dandum existimabat. His constitutis rebus et consilio cum legatis et quaestore communicato, ne[2] quem diem pugnae praemitteret, opportunissima res accidit, quod postridie ejus diei mane eadem et perfidia et simulatione usi Germani frequentes omnibus principibus majoribusque natu adhibitis ad eum in castra venerunt, simul, ut dicebatur, sui purgandi causa, quod contra atque esset dictum et ipsi petissent, proelium pridie commisissent, simul[3] ut, si quid possent, de induciis fallendo impetrarent. Quos sibi Caesar oblatos gavisus illos retineri jussit:[4] ipse omnes copias castris eduxit equitatumque, quod recenti proelio perterritum esse existimabat, agmen subsequi jussit.

14. Acie triplici instituta et celeriter octo milium itinere confecto prius ad hostium castra pervenit, quam quid ageretur, Germani sentire possent. Qui omnibus rebus subito perterriti, et celeritate adventus nostri et discessu suorum,[5] neque consilii habendi neque arma capiendi spatio dato perturbantur,[6] copiasne adversus hostem ducere, an castra defendere, an

[1] Namely, *hostibus*.

[2] *Ne* here refers to the preceding clause, and indicates the purpose for which Caesar made the communication to his legates and his quaestor. The word *pugnae* is not the genitive, but the dative, dependent on *diem;* that is, 'a day fit for.'

[3] *Simul-simul*, instead of the more common phrase, *simul-atque*, *ac* or *et*.

[4] The violation of the law of nations which Caesar here very coolly relates of himself, cannot be justified or excused by anything that we learn from his own account; and it does honour to Cato, that when the affair became known at Rome, he proposed to the senate to deliver up Caesar to the Germans, as an atonement for the crime of which he was guilty.

[5] The *discessus suorum* refers to the chiefs and elders, who were kept back by Caesar, and without whose guidance and advice the Germans did not know how to act.

[6] *Perturbari* here signifies, 'to be so confounded as not to know what to do.'

fuga salutem petere praestaret. Quorum timor cum fremitu et concursu significaretur, milites nostri pristini diei perfidia incitati in castra irruperunt. Quo loco qui celeriter arma capere potuerunt, paulisper nostris restiterunt atque inter carros impedimentaque proelium commiserunt; at reliqua multitudo puerorum mulierumque (nam cum omnibus suis domo excesserant Rhenumque transierant) passim fugere coepit; ad quos consectandos Caesar equitatum misit.

15. Germani post tergum clamore audito,[1] cum suos interfici viderent, armis abjectis signisque militaribus relictis se ex castris ejecerunt, et cum ad confluentem[2] Mosae et Rheni pervenissent, reliqua fuga desperata magno numero interfecto reliqui se in flumen praecipitaverunt atque ibi timore, lassitudine, vi fluminis oppressi perierunt. Nostri ad unum omnes incolumes perpaucis vulneratis ex tanti belli timore, cum hostium numerus capitum CCCCXXX. milium fuisset, se in castra receperunt. Caesar his, quos in castris retinuerat, discedendi potestatem fecit. Illii supplicia cruciatusque Gallorum veriti, quorum agros vexaverant, remanere se apud eum velle dixerunt. His Caesar libertatem concessit.

16. Germanico bello confecto multis de causis Caesar statuit sibi Rhenum esse transeundum; quarum illa fuit justissima, quod, cum videret Germanos tam facile[3] impelli, ut in Galliam venirent, suis quoque rebus eos timere voluit, cum intelligerent et posse et audere populi Romani exercitum Rhenum transire. Accessit etiam quod illa pars equitatus Usipetum et Tencterorum, quam supra commemoravi praedandi frumentandique causa Mosam transisse neque proelio interfuisse, post fugam suorum se trans Rhenum in fines Sigambrorum receperat seque cum iis conjunxerat. Ad quos cum Caesar nuntios misisset, qui postularent eos, qui sibi Galliaeque bellum intulissent, sibi dederent, responderunt: populi Romani imperium Rhenum finire: si se invito Germanos in Galliam transire non aequum existimaret, cur sui quic-

[1] Namely, of the women and children.

[2] *Confluens* is properly a participle or adjective; it is here used substantively, and *alveus* is to be understood. The author might also have said, *ad confluentes Mosam et Rhenum.*

[3] Caesar then, it appears, did not believe that the Usipetes and Tencteri had been compelled to quit their country, otherwise he could not have used the expression, *tam facile.*

quam esse imperii aut potestatis trans Rhenum postularet? Ubii autem, qui uni ex Transrhenanis ad Caesarem legatos miserant, amicitiam fecerant, obsides dederant, magnopere orabant, ut sibi auxilium ferret, quod graviter ab Suevis premerentur; vel si id facere occupationibus rei publicae[1] prohiberetur, exercitum modo Rhenum transportaret: id sibi ad auxilium spemque reliqui temporis satis futurum. Tantum esse nomen atque opinionem ejus exercitus Ariovisto pulso et hoc novissimo proelio facto etiam ad[2] ultimas Germanorum nationes, uti opinione et amicitia populi Romani tuti esse possint. Navium magnam copiam ad transportandum exercitum pollicebantur.

17. Caesar his de causis, quas commemoravi, Rhenum transire decreverat, sed navibus transire neque satis tutum esse arbitrabatur neque suae neque populi Romani dignitatis esse statuebat. Itaque, etsi summa difficultas faciendi pontis proponebatur[3] propter latitudinem, rapiditatem altitudinemque fluminis, tamen id sibi contendendum, aut aliter non traducendum exercitum existimabat. Rationem pontis hanc instituit. Tigna bina sesquipedalia,[4] paulum ab imo praeacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat. Haec cum machinationibus immissa in flumen defixerat fistucisque adegerat non sublicae modo directe ad perpendiculum, sed prone ac fastigate, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent, his item contraria duo ad eundem modum juncta intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat. Haec utraque[5] insuper bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis atque in contrariam partem revinctis tanta erat operis

[1] *Rei publicae* is the objective genitive: by the occupations in which he was engaged for the republic.

[2] *Ad* is here used in the sense of *apud;* but *ad* at the same time contains the idea, that Caesar's fame had *penetrated to* the most distant tribes.

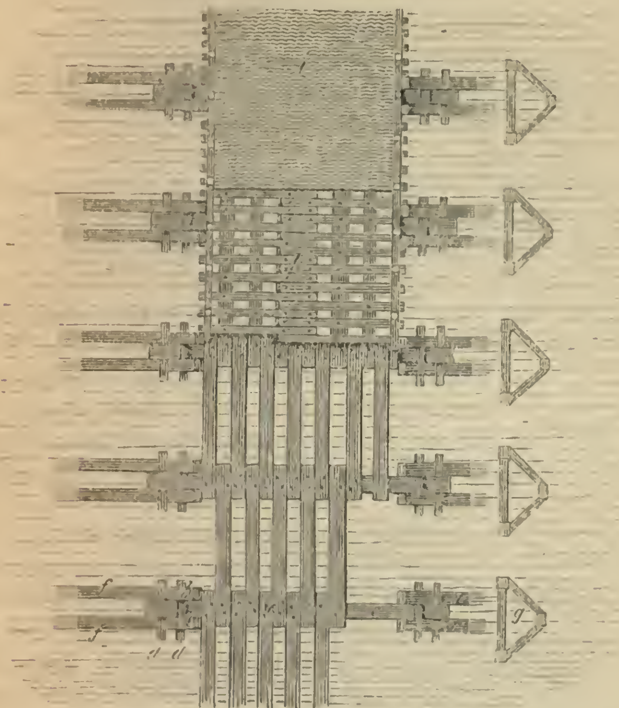
[3] *Proponebatur;* that is, 'was placed before his eyes;' namely, by those whom he consulted, and who knew the real state of things.

[4] Two feet and a-half, namely, in thickness: just as below the *trabes bipedales* are beams of two feet in thickness.

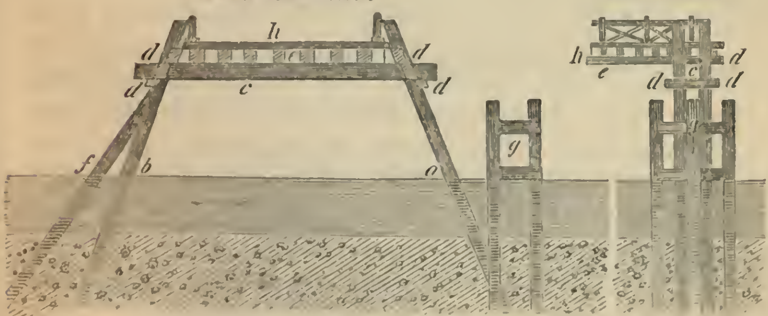
[5] Namely, those in the upper and the lower part of the river. The real nature of this bridge cannot be described more clearly in words than it is done here by Caesar himself; but the annexed engraving

will help to explain the chapter. The place where this bridge was made across the Rhine has been the subject of much discussion: the most probable opinion is, that it was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Coblenz or Andernach.

RHENANI PONTIS ICHNOGRAPHIA.



Prima Pontis Sectio. *Sectio Secunda.*



a. Bina ligna sesquipedalia prona ac fastigata secundum fluminis naturam.—*b.* Alia bina ex adverso defixa.—*c.* Trabes bipedales.—*d.* Binæ fibulæ.—*e.* Materia directa.—*f.* Sublicæ obliquae.—*g.* Defensores.—*h.* Longurii.—*i.* Crates.

firmitudo atque ea rerum natura, ut quo major vis aquae se incitavisset, hoc artius illigata tenerentur. Haec directa materia injecta contexebantur ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur; ac nihilo secius sublicae et ad inferiorem partem fluminis oblique agebantur, quae pro ariete subjectae et cum omni opere conjunctae vim fluminis exciperent, et aliae item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut si arborum trunci sive naves dejiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae, his defensoribus earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent.

18. Diebus decem, quibus materia coepta erat comportari, omni opere effecto exercitus traducitur. Caesar ad utramque partem pontis firmo praesidio relicto in fines Sigambrorum contendit. Interim a compluribus civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, quibus pacem atque amicitiam petentibus liberaliter respondit, obsidesque ad se adduci jubet. At Sigambri ex eo tempore, quo pons institui coeptus est, fuga comparata[1] hortantibus iis, quos ex Tencteris atque Usipetibus apud se habebant, finibus suis excesserant suaque omnia exportaverant seque in solitudinem ac silvas abdiderant.

19. Caesar paucos dies in eorum finibus moratus omnibus vicis aedificiisque incensis frumentisque succisis se in fines Ubiorum recepit, atque iis auxilium suum pollicitus, si ab Suevis premerentur, haec ab iis cognovit: Suevos, posteaquam per exploratores pontem fieri comperissent, more suo concilio habito nuntios in omnes partes dimisisse, uti de oppidis demigrarent, liberos, uxores suaque omnia in silvis deponerent, atque omnes, qui arma ferre possent, unum in locum convenirent: hunc esse delectum medium fere regionum earum, quas Suevi obtinerent: hic Romanorum adventum exspectare atque ibi decertare constituisse. Quod ubi Caesar comperit, omnibus rebus his confectis, quarum rerum causa traducere exercitum constituerat, ut[2] Germanis metum injiceret, ut Sigambros ulcisceretur, ut Ubios obsidione[3] liberaret,

[1] That is, *fuga parata*, as in vii. 61.

[2] The three following clauses beginning with *ut* contain merely an explanation of the preceding words, *omnibus rebus his confectis*.

[3] The word *obsidio*, 'a siege,' when used, as here, of a country or nation, must be rendered by 'pressure' or 'oppression.' Compare vii. 32.

diebus omnino decem et octo trans Rhenum consumptis satis et ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum[1] arbitratus se in Galliam recepit pontemque rescidit.

20. Exigua parte aestatis reliqua Caesar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septemtriones vergit, maturae sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat,[2] et si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset et genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset; quae omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere[3] praeter mercatores illo[4] adit quisquam, neque his ipsis quicquam praeter oram maritimam atque eas regiones, quae sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque vocatis ad se undique mercatoribus neque quanta esset insulae magnitudo, neque quae aut quantae nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli[5] haberent aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium[6] multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

21. Ad haec cognoscenda, priusquam periculum faceret, idoneum esse arbitratus Caium Volusenum[7] cum navi longa praemittit. Huic mandat, uti exploratis omnibus rebus ad se quam primum revertatur. Ipse cum omnibus copiis in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam trajectus. Huc naves undique ex finitimis regionibus et quam superiore aestate ad Veneticum bellum effecerat[8] classem jubet convenire. Interim consilio ejus cognito et per mercatores perlato ad Britannos a compluribus insulae civitatibus ad eum legati veniunt, qui polliceantur obsides

[1] *Proficere* signifies, 'to gain an advantage,' 'to make progress,' or 'to succeed.'

[2] See ii. 4, 14, iii. 8, 9.

[3] That is, *neque enim facile.*

[4] That is, *in Britanniam*, or *ad illos.*

[5] *Usus belli* is 'practice in war,' and the meaning of the clause is the same as of *quid in bello possent*, in ii. 4.

[6] *Majores naves* here comprises both large ships of war and transports. From this passage it is clear that the Gallic merchants who visited Britain used small boats.

[7] See iii. 5.

[8] The compound *efficere* is frequently used by Caesar instead of the simple verb *facere.* See i. 36, iv. 18, vi. 9, vii. 35.

dare atque imperio populi Romani obtemperare. Quibus auditis liberaliter pollicitus hortatusque ut in ea sententia permanerent, eos[1] domum remittit, et cum iis una Commium, quem ipse Atrebatibus superatis regem ibi constituerat, cujus et virtutem et consilium probabat[2] et quem sibi fidelem esse arbitrabatur, cujusque auctoritas in his regionibus[3] magni habebatur, mittit. Huic imperat, quas possit, adeat civitates horteturque, ut populi Romani fidem sequantur,[4] seque celeriter eo venturum nuntiet. Volusenus perspectis regionibus omnibus quantum ei facultas dari potuit, qui[5] navi egredi ac se barbaris committere non auderet, quinto die ad Caesarem revertitur quaeque ibi perspexisset, renuntiat.

22. Dum in his locis Caesar navium parandarum causa moratur, ex magna parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt, qui se de superioris temporis consilio excusarent, quod homines barbari et nostrae consuetudinis imperiti bellum populo Romano fecissent,[6] seque ea, quae imperasset, facturos pollicerentur. Hoc sibi Caesar satis opportune accidisse arbitratus, quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat neque belli gerendi propter anni tempus facultatem habebat[7] neque has tantularum rerum[8] occupationes Britanniæ anteponendas judicabat, magnum iis numerum obsidum imperat. Quibus adductis eos in fidem recepit. Navibus circiter LXXX. onerariis coactis contractisque,[9] quod satis esse

[1] Respecting the *eos* after the ablative absolute, see iii. 14, note 7. Compare v. 4, 44, vi. 4.

[2] *Probare*, 'to think highly of.'

[3] Namely, of Gaul, and not of Britain.

[4] *Fidem alicujus sequi* signifies 'to trust to a person,' for *fides* is the belief in the existence of virtue and good in a person, and he who follows that belief trusts in the person. See v. 20.

[5] *Qui* here contains the idea of *quum*, whence it is followed by the subjunctive.

[6] This seems to allude to what is related in iii. 28, &c.

[7] If this reason is true, Caesar cannot have crossed over into Britain for the purpose of carrying on war there, but merely to become acquainted with the country and its inhabitants.

[8] The genitive *tantularum rerum* here is objective, 'the occupation with such trifling matters.'

[9] The words *naves coactae* seem to refer to the ships which Caesar collected from all parts of the Gallic coast, while *contractae* refers to the ships which had already assembled in the place from which he set out.

ad duas transportandas legiones existimabat, quod praeterea navium longarum habebat, quaestori, legatis praefectisque[1] distribuit. Huc accedebant XVIII. onerariae naves, quae ex eo loco[2] ab milibus passuum octo vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum venire possent: has equitibus distribuit. Reliquum exercitum Quinto Titurio Sabino et Lucio Aurunculeio Cottae legatis in Menapios atque in eos pagos Morinorum, ab quibus ad eum legati non venerant, ducendum dedit; Publium Sulpicium Rufum legatum cum eo praesidio, quod satis esse arbitrabatur, portum tenere jussit.

23. His constitutis rebus nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem tertia fere vigilia solvit,[3] equitesque in ulteriorem portum progredi et naves conscendere et se sequi jussit. A quibus cum paulo tardius esset administratum, ipse hora circiter diei quarta cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit, atque ibi in omnibus collibus expositas[4] hostium copias armatas conspexit. Cujus loci haec erat natura, atque ita montibus angustis mare continebatur, uti ex locis superioribus in litus telum adigi posset. Hunc ad egrediendum nequaquam idoneum locum arbitratus, dum reliquae naves eo convenirent, ad horam nonam[5] in ancoris expectavit. Interim legatis tribunisque militum convocatis et quae ex Voluseno cognosset, et quae fieri vellet, ostendit monuitque, ut rei militaris ratio, maxime ut maritimae res postularent, ut [quae] celerem atque instabilem motum haberent, ad nutum et ad tempus omnes res ab iis administrarentur. His dimissis et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum dato signo et sublatis ancoris circiter milia passuum

[1] Namely, of his auxiliaries, whom, besides his two legions, Caesar took with him to Britain.

[2] Namely, where the eighty ships were assembled. The distance between the two squadrons was eight thousand paces. Compare ii. 7, note 1.

[3] Namely, *naves*, 'he set sail.' Compare v. 23.

[4] The word *expositas* seems here to be used for *dispositas*, but at the same time to contain the idea that the troops were stationed there more for the purpose of striking terror into the Romans by their appearance, than with the intention of actually fighting.

[5] That is, till about three o'clock in the afternoon. From the whole description, it is evident that Caesar must have landed on the coast of England, between Dover and South Foreland.

septem ab eo loco progressus aperto ac plano litore[1] naves constituit.

24. At barbari consilio Romanorum cognito, praemisso equitatu et essedariis,[2] quo plerumque genere in proeliis uti consuerunt, reliquis copiis subsecuti nostros navibus egredi prohibebant. Erat ob has causas summa difficultas, quod naves propter magnitudinem nisi in alto[3] constitui non poterant, militibus autem, ignotis locis, impeditis manibus magno et gravi onere armorum oppressis simul et de navibus desiliendum et in fluctibus consistendum et cum hostibus erat pugnandum, cum illi aut ex arido aut paulum in aquam progressi, omnibus membris expeditis, notissimis locis, audacter tela conjicerent et equos insuefactos[4] incitarent. Quibus rebus nostri perterriti atque hujus omnino generis pugnae imperiti non eadem alacritate ac studio, quo in pedestribus uti proeliis consuerant, nitebantur.

25. Quod ubi Caesar animadvertit, naves longas, quarum et species erat barbaris inusitatior et motus ad usum expeditior, paulum removeri ab onerariis navibus et remis incitari et ad latus apertum[5] hostium constitui atque inde fundis, sagittis, tormentis hostes propelli ac summoveri jussit; quae res magno usui nostris fuit. Nam et navium figura et remorum motu et inusitato genere tormentorum permoti barbari constiterunt ac paulum modo[6] pedem retulerunt. Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui decimae legionis aquilam ferebat, contestatus[7] deos, ut ea res[8] legioni feliciter eveniret, Desilite, inquit, commilitones, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero. Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi projecit atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati

[1] That is, on a part of the coast which was flat, and not protected by hills.

[2] The *essedae* were a light kind of war chariots, probably with only two wheels.

[3] *In alto;* namely, *mari*, 'in the open sea.'

[4] Accustomed, namely, to go into the water.

[5] *Latus apertum* is, the 'unprotected side' or 'wing' of the enemy.

[6] *Paulum modo*, 'only a little.'

[7] *Contestatus* here has the meaning of *comprecatus* or *precatus*.

[8] Namely, what he was going to do.

inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis primis navibus cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus appropinquarunt.

26. Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter. Nostri tamen, quod neque ordines[1] servare neque firmiter insistere neque signa subsequi poterant, atque alius alia ex navi quibuscunque signis occurrerat se aggregabat, magnopere perturbabantur; hostes vero notis omnibus vadis, ubi ex litore aliquos singulares ex navi egredientes conspexerant, incitatis equis impeditos adoriebantur, plures paucos circumsistebant, alii ab latere aperto in universos[2] tela conjiciebant. Quod cum animadvertisset Caesar, scaphas longarum navium, item speculatoria navigia militibus compleri jussit et quos laborantes conspexerat, his subsidia submittebat. Nostri, simul in arido constiterunt, suis omnibus consecutis in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in fugam dederunt neque longius prosequi potuerunt, quod equites cursum tenere atque insulam capere[3] non potuerunt. Hoc unum ad pristinam[4] fortunam Caesari defuit.

27. Hostes proelio superati, simul atque se ex fuga receperunt, statim ad Caesarem legatos de pace miserunt, obsides daturos quaeque imperasset facturos sese polliciti sunt. Una cum his legatis Commius Atrebas venit, quem supra[5] demonstraveram a Caesare in Britanniam praemissum. Hunc illi e navi egressum, cum ad eos oratoris[6] modo Caesaris mandata deferret, comprehenderant atque in vincula conjecerant: tum proelio facto remiserunt, et in petenda pace ejus rei[7] culpam in multitudinem conjecerunt et propter imprudentiam ut ignosceretur petiverunt. Caesar questus, quod cum ultro in continentem legatis missis pacem ab se petissent,

[1] *Ordines* here signifies the lines formed by the soldiers when drawn up in battle array.

[2] *In universos;* that is, when they saw the whole body of a ship's crew come out, they threw their darts among them.

[3] *Capere* here is the same as *attingere*, 'to take possession of.' Compare chap. 36, v. 8.

[4] *Pristina fortuna;* that is, the good luck or success which he had hitherto enjoyed.

[5] See chap. 21.

[6] *Orator* is often used in the sense of an ambassador.

[7] That is, of the detention and imprisonment of Commius.

bellum sine causa intulissent, ignoscere[1] imprudentiae dixit obsidesque imperavit; quorum illi partem statim dederunt, partem ex longinquioribus locis arcessitam paucis diebus sese daturos dixerunt. Interea suos remigrare in agros[2] jusserunt, principesque undique convenire et se civitatesque suas Caesari commendare coeperunt.

28. His rebus pace confirmata post diem quartum, quam[3] est in Britanniam ventum, naves XVIII., de quibus supra demonstratum est, quae equites sustulerant,[4] ex superiore portu leni vento solverunt. Quae cum appropinquarent Britanniae et ex castris viderentur, tanta tempestas subito coorta est, ut nulla earum cursum tenere posset, sed aliae eodem, unde erant profectae, referrentur, aliae ad inferiorem partem insulae, quae est propius solis occasum, magno sui[5] cum periculo dejicerentur;[6] quae tamen[7] ancoris jactis cum fluctibus complerentur, necessario adversa nocte in altum provectae continentem petierunt.

29. Eadem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena,[8] qui dies maritimos aestus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit, nostrisque id erat incognitum. Ita uno tempore et longas naves, quibus Caesar exercitum transportandum curaverat quasque in aridum subduxerat, aestus complebat, et onerarias, quae ad ancoras erant deligatae, tempestas afflictabat,

[1] *Ignoscere;* namely, *se.* The dative *imprudentiae* indicates the cause of his pardoning them, and is therefore the same as *propter imprudentiam.*

[2] Namely, where they usually lived; they were requested by their chiefs to return home from the place in which, after their flight, they had assembled again.

[3] That is, *die quarto post quam.* It must be observed that the Romans, in counting days, comprised both the one from which they started and the one down to which they reckoned, so that here, only two entire days had elapsed after Caesar's arrival in Britain, when the eighteen ships set sail.

[4] *Tollere* is here used in the sense of 'taking in a cargo.'

[5] The *sui* here is the same as *suo*, the genitive of the personal pronoun being used instead of the possessive.

[6] *Dejicere* does not signify to throw down, but to cast away from the road or course which they ought to have taken.

[7] *Tamen* here refers to *quamvis*, understood; namely, although the storm was vehement, yet they cast anchor, in the hope that the wind would subside.

[8] This full moon occurred in the night between the 30th and 31st of August B.C. 55. See *Classical Museum*, vol iv., p. 275, &c.

neque ulla nostris facultas aut administrandi aut auxiliandi dabatur. Compluribus navibus fractis reliquae cum essent funibus, ancoris reliquisque armamentis amissis ad navigandum inutiles, magna, id quod necesse erat accidere, totius exercitus perturbatio facta est. Neque enim naves erant aliae, quibus reportari possent, et omnia deerant, quae ad reficiendas naves erant usui, et quod omnibus constabat hiemari in Gallia oportere, frumentum his in locis in hiemem provisum non erat.

30. Quibus rebus cognitis principes Britanniae, qui post proelium ad Caesarem convenerant, inter se collocuti, cum equites et naves et frumentum Romanis deesse intelligerent et paucitatem militum ex castrorum exiguitate cognoscerent, quae hoc[1] erant etiam angustiora, quod sine impedimentis Caesar legiones transportaverat, optimum factu esse duxerunt rebellione facta frumento commeatuque nostros prohibere et rem in hiemem producere, quod his superatis aut reditu interclusis neminem postea belli inferendi causa in Britanniam transiturum confidebant. Itaque rursus conjuratione facta paulatim ex castris discedere ac suos clam ex agris deducere[2] coeperunt.

31. At Caesar, etsi nondum eorum consilia cognoverat, tamen et ex eventu navium[3] suarum et ex eo, quod obsides dare intermiserant, fore id, quod accidit, suspicabatur. Itaque ad omnes casus subsidia comparabat.[4] Nam et frumentum ex agris quotidie in castra conferebat et quae gravissime afflictae erant naves, earum materia atque aere ad reliquas reficiendas utebatur et quae ad eas res erant usui, ex continenti comportari jubebat. Itaque cum summo studio a militibus administraretur, XII. navibus amissis, reliquis ut navigari commode posset, effecit.

32. Dum ea geruntur, legione ex consuetudine una frumentatum missa, quae appellabatur septima, neque ulla ad

[1] *Hoc;* this ablative is the same as *propter hoc* or *hanc ab rem;* and the following *etiam* is the same as 'still.'

[2] Namely, away from their homes, and to a place which might be fit for forming them into an army.

[3] *Eventus navium;* that is, *id quod evenerat navibus*, 'from what had happened to his ships.'

[4] *Subsidia* here are not subsidies, but every assistance that could be devised against any sudden outbreak of the Britons.

id tempus belli suspicione interposita,[1] cum pars hominum in agris remaneret, pars etiam in castra ventitaret, ii, qui pro portis castrorum in statione erant, Caesari nuntiaverunt pulverem majorem, quam consuetudo ferret, in ea parte videri, quam in partem legio iter fecisset. Caesar id, quod erat, suspicatus, aliquid novi a barbaris initum consilii, cohortes,[2] quae in stationibus erant, secum in eam partem proficisci, ex reliquis duas in stationem cohortes succedere, reliquas armari et confestim sese subsequi jussit. Cum paulo longius a castris processisset, suos ab hostibus premi atque aegre sustinere et, conferta legione,[3] ex omnibus partibus tela conjici animadvertit. Nam quod omni ex reliquis partibus demesso frumento pars una erat reliqua, suspicati hostes huc nostros esse venturos noctu in silvis delituerant; tum dispersos depositis armis in metendo occupatos subito adorti paucis interfectis reliquos incertis ordinibus perturbaverant, simul equitatu atque essedis circumdederant.

33. Genus hoc est ex essedis pugnae: primo per omnes partes perequitant[4] et tela conjiciunt atque ipso terrore equorum et strepitu rotarum ordines plerumque perturbant, et cum se inter equitum turmas insinuaverunt, ex essedis desiliunt et pedibus proeliantur. Aurigae interim paulatim ex proelio excedunt atque ita currus collocant, ut si illi[5] a multitudine hostium premantur, expeditum ad suos receptum habeant. Ita mobilitatem equitum, stabilitatem peditum in proeliis praestant ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, uti in declivi ac praecipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere et brevi[6] moderari ac flectere et per temonem percurrere et in jugo insistere et se inde in currus citissime recipere consuerint.

34. Quibus rebus perturbatis nostris novitate pugnae[7] tem-

[1] Namely, between the day on which the Britons had surrendered, and the present moment.

[2] At each gate of the camp one cohort was stationed. See vi. 37.

[3] *Conferta legione* is the ablative absolute.

[4] *Perequitare* in this passage shows that *equitare* not only signifies 'to ride on horseback,' but also, 'to ride in a chariot.'

[5] Namely, the warriors.

[6] Namely, *tempore*.

[7] That is, *Quibus rebus quum accidisset ut novitate pugnae perturbarentur nostri.* The words *perturbatis nostris* may be taken as a dative depend-

pore opportunissimo Caesar auxilium tulit; namque ejus adventu hostes constiterunt, nostri se ex timore receperunt. Quo facto ad lacessendum et ad committendum proelium alienum esse tempus arbitratus suo se loco continuit et brevi tempore intermisso in castra legiones reduxit. Dum haec geruntur, nostris omnibus occupatis, qui[1] erant in agris reliqui, discesserunt. Secutae sunt continuos complures dies tempestates, quae[2] et nostros in castris continerent et hostem a pugna prohiberent. Interim barbari nuntios in omnes partes dimiserunt paucitatemque nostrorum militum suis praedicaverunt et quanta praedae faciendae atque in perpetuum sui liberandi facultas daretur, si Romanos castris expulissent, demonstraverunt. His rebus[3] celeriter magna multitudine peditatus equitatusque coacta ad castra venerunt.

35. Caesar, etsi idem, quod superioribus diebus acciderat, fore videbat, ut si essent hostes pulsi, celeritate periculum effugerent, tamen nactus equites circiter XXX., quos Commius Atrebas, de quo ante dictum est, secum transportaverat, legiones in acie pro castris constituit. Commisso proelio diutius[4] nostrorum militum impetum hostes ferre non potuerunt ac terga verterunt. Quos tanto spatio secuti, quantum cursu et viribus efficere potuerunt, complures ex iis occiderunt, deinde omnibus longe lateque aedificiis incensis se in castra receperunt.

36. Eodem die legati ab hostibus missi ad Caesarem de pace venerunt. His Caesar numerum obsidum, quem ante imperaverat, duplicavit eosque in continentem adduci jussit, quod propinqua die aequinoctii infirmis navibus hiemi navigationem subjiciendam[5] non existimabat. Ipse idoneam tempestatem nactus paulo post mediam noctem naves solvit, quae omnes incolumes ad continentem pervenerunt; sed ex iis

ent upon *auxilium tulit*, or as an ablative absolute; but the latter seems preferable.

1 The *qui* refers to those Britons who had been left behind on their estates, for *reliqui* has the same meaning as *relicti*. See chap. 32.

2 *Quae* contains the idea of *ut;* namely, *tantae tempestates, ut;* hence the subjunctives *continerent* and *prohiberent*.

3 Namely, which the leaders of the Britons had mentioned.

4 Namely, than was necessary to enable Caesar or his enemies to say that a battle was fought.

5 *Subjicere*, to expose to the power or influence of some one.

onerariae duae eosdem, quos reliqui, portus capere non potuerunt et paulo infra delatae sunt.

37. Quibus ex navibus cum essent expositi milites circiter trecenti atque in castra contenderent, Morini, quos Caesar in Britanniam proficiscens pacatos reliquerat, spe praedae adducti primo non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt[1] ac si sese interfici nollent, arma ponere jusserunt. Cum illi orbe facto sese defenderent, celeriter ad clamorem hominum circiter milia sex convenerunt. Qua re nuntiata Caesar omnem ex castris equitatum suis auxilio misit. Interim nostri milites impetum hostium sustinuerunt atque amplius horis quatuor fortissime pugnaverunt et paucis vulneribus acceptis complures ex his occiderunt. Postea vero quam equitatus noster in conspectum venit, hostes abjectis armis terga verterunt magnusque eorum numerus est occisus.

38. Caesar postero die Titum Labienum legatum cum his legionibus, quas ex Britannia reduxerat, in Morinos, qui rebellionem fecerant, misit. Qui cum propter siccitates[2] paludum quo se reciperent, non haberent, quo perfugio superiore anno[3] erant usi, omnes fere in potestatem Labieni pervenerunt. At Q. Titurius et L. Cotta legati, qui in Menapiorum fines legiones duxerant, omnibus eorum agris vastatis, frumentis succisis, aedificiis incensis, quod Menapii se omnes in densissimas silvas abdiderant, se ad Caesarem receperunt. Caesar in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit. Eo duae omnino civitates ex Britannia obsides miserunt, reliquae neglexerunt. His rebus gestis ex literis[4] Caesaris dierum viginti supplicatio a senatu decreta est.

[1] Namely, *eos;* that is, the three hundred who had landed, and were hastening towards the camp, which, in Caesar's absence, seems to have been guarded by Sulpicius Rufus, near the port. See chap. 22.

[2] The plural *siccitates* refers to the several places in which the dryness prevented their taking refuge, so that *siccitates* is equivalent to *siccae paludes.* Compare v. 24, vi. 30, 34.

[3] See iii. 28, &c.

[4] *Ex literis;* namely, in which Caesar had reported to the senate about his late campaigns. The public thanksgiving on that occasion seems to have been mainly decreed on account of his expedition into Britain.

LIBER V.

Lucio Domitio, Appio Claudio Coss.[1] discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam,[2] ut quotannis facere consuerat, legatis imperat, quos legionibus praefecerat, uti, quam plurimas possent hieme naves aedificandas veteresque reficiendas curarent. Earum modum formamque demonstrat. Ad celeritatem onerandi subductionesque[3] paullo facit humiliores, quam quibus in nostro mari[4] uti consuevimus; atque id eo magis, quod propter crebras commutationes aestuum minus magnos ibi fluctus fieri cognoverat: ad onera et ad multitudinem jumentorum transportandam paullo latiores, quam quibus in reliquis utimur maribus. Has omnes actuarias[5] imperat fieri, quam ad rem multum humilitas adjuvat. Ea, quae sunt usui ad armandas naves, ex Hispania apportari jubet. Ipse conventibus Galliae citerioris peractis, in Illyricum[6] proficiscitur, quod a Pirustis finitimam partem provinciae incursionibus vastari audiebat. Eo quum venisset, civitatibus milites imperat certumque in locum convenire jubet. Qua re nunciata, Pirustae legatos ad eum mittunt, qui doceant, nihil earum rerum publico factum consilio, seseque paratos esse demonstrant[7] omnibus rationibus de injuriis satisfacere. Accepta[8] oratione eo-

[1] That is, in the year B. C. 54. Caesar accordingly left the winter quarters in the country of the Belgae after the 1st of January, for on that day the consuls of B. C. 54 entered upon their office.

[2] That is, the northern part of Italy, which formed part of his province.

[3] That is, 'that his men might be able to put the cargoes into the vessels more quickly, and draw them on the beach more easily,' the latter being necessary to do the former. During the winter, and whenever the ships were not used, they were drawn (*subducere*, *in terram ducere*) on the beach.

[4] *Nostrum mare* is the Mediterranean.

[5] *Naves actuariae* were light transports, which were propelled both by rowing and by sails.

[6] *Illyricum* was likewise a part of Caesar's province. The Pirustae inhabited a part of the modern Tyrol, and had invaded the part of Illyricum nearest to their own country.

[7] *Demonstrant;* the indicative is here used, though *doceant* precedes, to indicate the *fact* that the Pirustae through their ambassadors show.

[8] *Accipere* implies that Caesar was satisfied with the explanation which the Pirustae gave.

rum, Caesar obsides imperat eosque ad certam diem adduci jubet: nisi ita fecerint, sese bello civitatem persecuturum demonstrat. His ad diem adductis, ut imperaverat, arbitros inter civitates dat, qui litem aestiment[1] poenamque constituant.

2. His confectis rebus conventibusque peractis, in citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, circuitis omnibus hibernis, singulari militum studio, in summa omnium rerum inopia, circiter DC. ejus generis, cujus[2] supra demonstravimus, naves et longas XXVIII. invenit instructas, neque multum abesse ab eo, quin paucis diebus deduci[3] possent. Collaudatis militibus atque iis, qui negotio praefuerant, quid fieri velit, ostendit atque omnes ad portum Itium[4] convenire jubet, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transmissum esse cognoverat, circiter milium passuum XXX. a continenti. Huic rei[5] quod satis esse visum est militum reliquit: ipse cum legionibus expeditis IV. et equitibus DCCC. in fines Trevirorum proficiscitur, quod hi neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant Germanosque transrhenanos sollicitare dicebantur.

3. Haec civitas longe plurimum totius Galliae equitatu valet magnasque habet copias peditum, Rhenumque, ut supra demonstravimus,[6] tangit. In ea civitate duo de principatu inter se contendebant, Indutiomarus et Cingetorix: ex quibus alter, simul atque de Caesaris legionumque adventu cognitum est, ad eum venit; se suosque omnes in officio futuros neque ab amicitia populi Romani defecturos confirmavit, quaeque in Treviris gererentur, ostendit. At Indutiomarus equitatum peditatumque cogere, iisque, qui per aetatem in armis esse non poterant, in silvam Arduennam[7] abditis, quae ingenti

[1] *Litem aestimare*, to value the damages which the Pirustae had done to the province. *Lis* is not only the trial, but also denotes all the expenses connected with it, and the fines that may be imposed.

[2] Namely, *generis naves.*

[3] *Deducere* is the technical term of drawing the ships from the beach down into the water; hence 'to launch.' Compare chap. 1, note 3.

[4] The port Itius was either the modern Ambleteuse or Calais, and not, as some suppose, Wissan; that is, Wit-sand. See *Classical Museum*, vol iv., p. 277, &c.

[5] *Huic rei;* namely, *transmissui.*

[6] See ii. 24, iii. 11.

[7] The forest called Arduenna extended from the western banks of the Rhine as far as the mouths of the Meuse and Schelde. Compare

magnitudine per medios fines Trevirorum a flumine Rheno ad initium Remorum pertinet, bellum parare instituit. Sed posteaquam nonnulli principes ex ea civitate, et familiaritate Cingetorigis adducti et adventu nostri exercitus perterriti, ad Caesarem venerunt et de suis privatim rebus ab eo petere coeperunt, quoniam civitati consulere non possent, Indutiomarus veritus, ne ab omnibus desereretur, legatos ad Caesarem mittit: sese idcirco ab suis discedere atque ad eum venire noluisse, quo facilius civitatem in officio[1] contineret, ne omnis nobilitatis discessu plebs propter imprudentiam laberetur.[2] Itaque esse civitatem in sua potestate seque, si Caesar permitteret, ad eum in castra venturum et suas civitatisque fortunas ejus fidei[3] permissurum.

4. Caesar, etsi intelligebat, qua de causa ea dicerentur, quaeque eum res ab instituto consilio deterreret, tamen, ne aestatem in Treviris consumere cogeretur, omnibus ad Britannicum bellum rebus comparatis, Indutiomarum ad se cum ducentis obsidibus venire jussit. His adductis, in iis filio propinquisque ejus omnibus, quos nominatim evocaverat, consolatus Indutiomarum hortatusque est, uti in officio permaneret: nihilo tamen secius principibus Trevirorum ad se convocatis, hos singillatim Cingetorigi conciliavit: quod quum merito ejus[4] ab se fieri intelligebat, tum magni interesse arbitrabatur, ejus auctoritatem inter suos quam plurimum valere, cujus tam egregiam in se voluntatem perspexisset. Id factum[5] graviter tulit Indutiomarus, suam gratiam inter suos minui, et qui jam ante inimico in nos animo fuisset, multo gravius hoc dolore exarsit.

5. His rebus constitutis, Caesar ad portum Itium cum le-

vi. 29, 33. A portion of it still exists, bearing the name of the Ardenne forest.

[1] *Officium* frequently has the meaning of 'obedience,' comprising all that a person is bound to do by law or agreement.

[2] *Labor,* 'to glide' or 'slip;' namely, from the path of duty. *Plebs* is here the people, as distinct from the nobility or aristocracy.

[3] Namely, to the *fides*, or virtue and honesty which Indutiomarus believed to exist in Caesar. See iv. 21, note 4.

[4] Namely, *Cingetorigis.*

[5] The word *id factum* is explained by the clause *suam gratiam*, &c., the word *factum* being the general or abstract term, the real nature of which is *suam gratiam minui.* The word *qui* contains the idea of *quum*, denoting *cause,* whence the subjunctive *fuisset.*

gionibus pervenit. Ibi cognoscit, XL. naves, quae in Meldis[1] factae erant, tempestate rejectas cursum tenere non potuisse atque eodem, unde erant profectae, revertisse: reliquas paratas ad navigandum atque omnibus rebus instructas invenit. Eodem[2] totius Galliae equitatus convenit, numero milium quatuor, principesque omnibus ex civitatibus: ex quibus perpaucos, quorum in se fidem perspexerat, relinquere in Gallia, reliquos obsidum loco secum ducere decreverat; quod, quum ipse abesset, motum Galliae verebatur.

6. Erat una cum ceteris Dumnorix Aeduus, de quo ab nobis antea dictum est.[3] Hunc secum habere in primis[4] constituerat, quod eum cupidum rerum novarum, cupidum imperii, magni animi, magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis cognoverat. Accedebat huc, quod jam in concilio Aeduorum Dumnorix dixerat, sibi a Caesare regnum civitatis deferri: quod dictum Aedui graviter ferebant, neque[5] recusandi aut deprecandi causa legatos ad Caesarem mittere audebant. Id factum ex suis hospitibus Caesar cognoverat. Ille omnibus primo precibus petere contendit, ut in Gallia relinqueretur; partim, quod insuetus navigandi mare timeret, partim, quod religionibus[6] sese diceret impediri. Posteaquam id obstinate sibi negari vidit, omni spe impetrandi ademta, principes Galliae sollicitare, sevocare singulos hortarique coepit, uti in continenti remanerent; metu territare,[7] non sine causa fieri, ut Gallia omni nobilitate spoliaretur: id esse consilium Caesaris, ut quos in conspectu Galliae interficere vereretur, hos omnes in Britanniam transductos necaret: fidem reliquis interponere,[8] jusjurandum poscere, ut quod esse ex usu[9] Galliae

[1] That is, in the country of the Meldi, a people who seem to have inhabited the country between the Sequana (Seine) and Matrona (Marne), and from whose territory the ships were carried down the river Sequana into the sea.

[2] *Eodem;* that is, to port Itius.

[3] See i. 3.

[4] 'Above all others.'

[5] *Neque* here introduces a natural consequence of that which precedes. The same is often the case with *et* and *atque.* See vii. 30.

[6] *Religiones* are 'religious duties,' which he pretended he had to perform in Gaul, in consequence of vows which he had made.

[7] *Territare* is a descriptive infinitive. See i. 16, note 5. But the following *fieri* is dependent upon some verb of *saying* which is understood.

[8] *Fidem interponere,* 'to pledge one's own honour.'

[9] *Ex usu est,* 'it is useful.' Compare i. 30, 50.

intellexissent, communi consilio administrarent. Haec a compluribus ad Caesarem deferebantur.

7. Qua re cognita, Caesar, quod tantum civitati Aeduae dignitatis tribuerat, coercendum atque deterrendum, quibuscumque rebus posset, Dumnorigem statuebat, quod longius ejus amentiam progredi videbat, prospiciendum, ne quid sibi ac reipublicae nocere posset. Itaque dies circiter XXV. in eo loco commoratus, quod corus[1] ventus navigationem impediebat, qui magnam partem omnis temporis in his locis flare consuevit, dabat operam, ut in officio Dumnorigem contineret, nihilo tamen secius omnia ejus consilia cognosceret: tandem idoneam tempestatem nactus, milites equitesque conscendere in naves jubet. At, omnium impeditis[2] animis, Dumnorix cum equitibus Aeduorum a castris, insciente Caesare, domum discedere coepit. Qua re nunciata, Caesar, intermissa profectione atque omnibus rebus postpositis, magnam partem equitatus ad eum insequendum mittit retrahique imperat: si vim faciat neque pareat, interfici jubet: nihil hunc se absente pro sano[3] facturum arbitratus, qui praesentis imperium neglexisset. Ille enim[4] revocatus resistere ac se manu defendere suorumque fidem implorare coepit, saepe clamitans,[5] liberum se liberaeque civitatis esse. Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumsistunt hominem atque interficiunt; at Aedui equites ad Caesarem omnes revertuntur.

8. His rebus gestis, Labieno in continente cum tribus legionibus et equitum milibus duobus relicto, ut portus tue-

[1] *Corus* or *caurus* is a north-west wind which began to blow in the Atlantic about the summer solstice, and continued till the end of autumn.

[2] *Impeditus* here has the meaning of *occupatus*, engaged in the preparation for the voyage, and thereby prevented from keeping a watchful eye upon him. Compare Cic. *De Leg.* i. 3.

[3] *Pro sano*, 'in accordance with the conduct of a sane man;' or, 'as a sane man,' *pro* having the meaning of *tanquam*.

[4] The *enim* here introduces the reason for the conclusions which Caesar has expressed in the preceding sentence; and the irregularity here consists in the fact, that the reason became manifest by the subsequent conduct of Dumnorix. Before *ille enim* we may therefore supply some such clause as this: 'and that Caesar was right in his apprehensions, became evident soon after, for when he,' &c.

[5] *Saepe clamitans* is apparently a pleonasm; but frequentative verbs frequently have only an intensive meaning, so that *saepe* may be added without causing a real pleonasm. See iv. 3: *multum ventitant*.

retur et rem frumentariam provideret quaeque in Gallia gererentur, cognosceret consiliumque pro tempore et pro re[1] caperet, ipse cum quinque legionibus et pari numero equitum, quem in continenti relinquebat, solis occasu naves solvit: et leni Africo[2] provectus, media circiter nocte vento intermisso, cursum non tenuit, et longius delatus aestu, orta luce, sub sinistra Britanniam[3] relictam conspexit. Tum rursus aestus commutationem[4] secutus, remis contendit ut eam partem insulae caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore aestate cognoverat. Qua in re admodum fuit militum virtus[5] laudanda, qui vectoriis gravibusque navigiis, non intermisso remigandi labore, longarum navium cursum adaequarunt. Accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore: neque in eo loco hostis est visus, sed, ut postea Caesar ex captivis comperit, quum magnae manus eo convenissent, multitudine navium perterritae (quae cum annotinis[6] privatisque, quas sui quisque commodi fecerat, amplius DCCC. uno erant visae tempore) a litore discesserant ac se in superiora loca abdiderant.

9. Caesar, exposito exercitu et loco castris idoneo capto, ubi ex captivis cognovit, quo in loco hostium copiae consedissent, cohortibus X. ad mare relictis et equitibus CCC., qui praesidio navibus essent, de tertia vigilia ad hostes contendit, eo minus veritus navibus, quod in litore molli[7] atque aperto deligatas ad ancoram relinquebat, et praesidio navibus Q. Atrium praefecit. Ipse noctu progressus milia passuum circiter XII. hostium copias conspicatus est. Illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen[8] progressi, ex loco superiore

[1] That is, 'according to time and circumstances.'

[2] *Africus* is properly the wind that blows from Africa, but its exact point in the compass must have been north of south-west.

[3] The point of Britain here alluded to was probably the isle of Thanet.

[4] The change of tide here mentioned must have been the beginning of the rise of the water.

[5] *Virtus* here is 'courage and perseverance.'

[6] *Annotinus* is that which has been accomplished within the space of one year, and accordingly, here, the ships built in the course of the preceding year.

[7] *Litus molle* is a gently or gradually sloping coast, and opposed to a coast consisting of hills or rocks.

[8] The river here mentioned seems to have been the Stour, somewhat below Canterbury.

nostros prohibere et proelium committere coeperunt. Repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregie et natura et opere munitum, quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, causa jam ante praeparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant praeclusi. Ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant,[1] nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant. At milites legionis septimae, testudine facta et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt eosque ex silvis expulerunt, paucis vulneribus acceptis. Sed eos fugientes longius Caesar prosequi vetuit, et quod loci naturam ignorabat et quod, magna parte diei consumta, munitioni castrorum tempus relinqui volebat.

10. Postridie ejus diei mane tripartito milites[2] equitesque in expeditionem misit, ut eos, qui fugerant, persequerentur. His aliquantum itineris progressis, quum jam extremi essent in prospectu, equites a Q. Atrio ad Caesarem venerunt, qui nunciarent, superiore nocte, maxima coorta tempestate, prope omnes naves adflictas atque in litore ejectas[3] esse; quod neque ancorae funesque subsisterent,[4] neque nautae gubernatoresque vim pati tempestatis possent: itaque ex eo concursu navium magnum esse incommodum acceptum.

11. His rebus cognitis, Caesar legiones equitatumque revocari atque itinere desistere jubet, ipse ad naves revertitur: eadem fere, quae ex nunciis literisque cognoverat, coram perspicit, sic ut, amissis circiter XL. navibus, reliquae tamen[5] refici posse magno negotio viderentur. Itaque ex legionibus fabros delegit et ex continenti alios arcessiri jubet; Labieno scribit ut quam plurimas posset[6] iis legionibus, quae sunt[7]

[1] *Propugnare* may either mean 'to come forward to fight,' or simply 'to make an attack.'

[2] *Milites* here, as in many other passages, is the same as *pedites*.

[3] *In litore ejectas* should properly be *in litus ejectas*, but, by the ablative, both the act of their being thrown upon the coast, and their being scattered or wrecked there, are expressed in one phrase.

[4] *Subsistere*, with the accusative, is 'to hold out against.' The imperfect here is used instead of the pluperfect, for the purpose of bringing the scene more vividly before the reader. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 525.

[5] *Tamen* here refers to *quamvis*, which is implied in *amissis navibus*.

[6] The imperfect subjunctive *posset* is here used instead of *possit*, because the leading verb *scribit* is an historical present for *scripsit*.

[7] The indicative *sunt* is here to be explained by assuming that the clause *quae sunt apud eum* is only an explanation inserted by the writer,

apud eum, naves instituat. Ipse etsi res erat multae operae ac laboris, tamen commodissimum esse statuit, omnes naves subduci et cum castris una munitione conjungi. In his rebus circiter dies decem consumit, ne nocturnis quidem temporibus ad laborem militum intermissis. Subductis navibus castrisque egregie munitis easdem copias, quas ante, praesidio navibus reliquit: ipse eodem, unde redierat, proficiscitur. Eo quum venisset, majores jam undique in eum locum copiae Britannorum convenerant, summa imperii bellique administrandi[1] communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno, cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit, quod appellatur Tamesis,[2] a mari circiter milia passuum LXXX. Huic superiore tempore cum reliquis civitatibus continentia[3] bella intercesserant: sed nostro adventu permoti Britanni hunc toti bello imperioque praefecerant.

12. Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria[4] proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis, qui praedae ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt et bello illato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere coeperunt. Hominum est infinita multitudo creberrimaque aedificia, fere Gallicis consimilia; pecorum magnus numerus. Utuntur aut aere, aut taleis[5] ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plumbum album[6] in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia: aere utuntur importato.

and has no connexion with the *oratio obliqua.* A similar instance occurs, vii. 78.

[1] That is, 'the supreme command and the general management of the war.'

[2] *Tamesis* is the river Thames. The territory of Cassivellaunus was north of the Thames. The spot at which Caesar met him was eighty miles from the sea; that is, from the point where Caesar had landed, and not from the mouth of the river, for he knew nothing of the course of the Thames.

[3] *Continentia;* that is, *continua,* 'continuous' or 'uninterrupted.' See iii. 28.

[4] *Memoria;* the ablative here signifies the manner in which the tradition had been handed down, though it is more common to say, *memoriae prodere.*

[5] *Taleae* are little or thin staves. The Britons then had no coinage, but, like the early Romans, determined the value of pieces of metal by their weight.

[6] *Plumbum album;* that is, *stannum* or tin.

Materia cujusque generis ut in Gallia est, praeter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi voluptatisque causa. Loca[1] sunt temperatiora quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium,[2] quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves appelluntur, ad orientem solem, inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter milia passuum D. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut aestimatur, quam Britannia; sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Gallia est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula, quae appellatur Mona;[3] complures praeterea minores objectae insulae existimantur; de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos XXX. sub bruma[4] esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percunctationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua[5] mensuris breviores esse quam in continenti noctes videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, DCC. milium. Tertium est contra septemtriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra; sed ejus angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat: huic milia passuum DCCC. in longitudinem esse existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum milium passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallica differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro[6] inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit

[1] *Loca*, like *aer* and *coelum*, may be rendered by 'climate.'

[2] *Cantium* is the modern Kent.

[3] *Mona*, according to some, is the Isle of Man, and according to others, Anglesey.

[4] *Bruma* is the winter solstice, and is perhaps a contraction of *brevissuma*; namely, *dies*.

[5] The *mensurae ex aqua* are measurements made by means of water; that is, by means of a clepsydra, or an hour-glass filled with water. Every one will see that both the description of the situation of Britain, and of its extent, is erroneous in this account of Caesar.

[6] *Vitrum* is the herb, woad, used for dyeing a blue colour. The ancients also called it *glastum*, and modern botanists call it *isatis tinctoria*. It seems to have produced a greenish or bluish colour. The verb *in-*

colorem atque hoc horridiore sunt in pugna adspectu: capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa, praeter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo[1] primum virgo quaeque deducta est.

15. Equites hostium essedariique acriter proelio cum equitatu nostro in itinere conflixerunt, tamen ut[2] nostri omnibus partibus superiores fuerint atque eos in silvas collesque compulerint: sed compluribus interfectis cupidius insecuti nonnullos ex suis amiserunt. At illi, intermisso spatio,[3] imprudentibus nostris atque occupatis in munitione castrorum, subito se ex silvis ejecerunt impetuque in eos facto, qui erant in statione pro castris collocati, acriter pugnaverunt: duabusque missis subsidio cohortibus a Caesare, atque his primis legionum duarum, quum hae,[4] perexiguo intermisso loci spatio inter se, constitissent, novo genere pugnae perterritis nostris, per medios audacissime perruperunt, seque inde incolumes receperunt. Eo die Q. Laberius Durus, tribunus militum, interficitur. Illi, pluribus immissis cohortibus, repelluntur.

16. Toto hoc in genere pugnae, quum sub oculis omnium ac pro[5] castris dimicaretur, intellectum est, nostros propter gravitatem armorum, quod neque insequi cedentes possent, neque ab signis discedere auderent, minus aptos esse ad[6] hujus generis hostem; equites autem magno cum periculo proelio dimicare, propterea quod illi etiam consulto plerumque cederent, et quum paulum ab legionibus nostros removissent, ex essedis desilirent et pedibus dispari proelio

ficiunt indicates that the dye was applied not only to the surface of the skin, but penetrated it, and thus caused the dye to appear like the natural colour of the skin.

[1] *Quo;* that is, *ad quos*, or *in quorum domos. Deducere* is to lead a bride home.

[2] That is, *ita tamen ut.*

[3] Namely, *temporis*, 'after the lapse of some time.'

[4] Respecting the *hae* after the ablative absolute, see iii. 14, note 7; compare iv. 21, note 1.

[5] *Pro* here, as in many other places, is the same as *ante*, or *ante frontem*, 'in front of.'

[6] The preposition *ad*, instead of the simple dative *hosti*, implies not only fitness *for*, but also *against;* that is, fitness to fight against the enemy. See chap. 17.

contenderent. Equestris autem proelii ratio et cedentibus et insequentibus par atque idem periculum inferebat. Accedebat huc, ut numquam conferti, sed rari magnisque intervallis proeliarentur stationesque dispositas haberent,[1] atque alios alii deinceps exciperent integrique et recentes defatigatis succederent.

17. Postero die procul a castris hostes in collibus constiterunt rarique se ostendere et lenius, quam pridie, nostros equites proelio lacessere coeperunt. Sed meridie, quum Caesar pabulandi causa tres legiones atque omnem equitatum cum C. Trebonio legato misisset, repente ex omnibus partibus ad pabulatores advolaverunt, sic, uti ab signis legionibusque[2] non absisterent. Nostri, acriter in eos impetu facto, repulerunt neque finem sequendi fecerunt, quoad subsidio confisi equites, quum post se legiones viderent, praecipites hostes egerunt: magnoque eorum numero interfecto, neque sui colligendi, neque consistendi aut ex essedis desiliendi facultatem dederunt. Ex[3] hac fuga protinus, quae undique convenerant, auxilia discesserunt: neque post id tempus umquam summis nobiscum copiis[4] hostes contenderunt.

18. Caesar, cognito consilio eorum, ad flumen Tamesin in fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit; quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc aegre, transiri potest.[5] Eo quum venisset, animum advertit, ad alteram fluminis ripam magnas esse copias hostium instructas: ripa autem erat acutis sudibus praefixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixae sudes flumine tegebantur. His rebus cognitis a captivis perfugisque, Caesar, praemisso equitatu, confestim legiones subsequi jussit. Sed ea celeritate atque eo impetu milites ierunt,

[1] *Dispositas haberent;* that is, stationed in different places and at certain intervals.

[2] The *signa* and *legiones* are here the legions with their standards, drawn up in regular order, as opposed to the scattered cavalry which had gone on a foraging excursion.

[3] *Ex* signifies, 'in consequence of;' hence also, 'immediately after,' which is here clearly indicated by *protinus*.

[4] *Summis copiis* is the same as *omnibus copiis* or *omni exercitu*, 'with all their forces.' See vii. 41.

[5] The place where Caesar and his army forded the Thames is commonly believed to be at Cowey Stakes, near Oatsland, and not far from the confluence of the Wey.

quum capite solo ex aqua exstarent, ut hostes impetum legionum atque equitum sustinere non possent ripasque dimitterent[1] ac se fugae mandarent.

19. Cassivellaunus, ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis,[2] dimissis amplioribus copiis, milibus circiter quatuor essedariorum relictis, itinera nostra servabat[3] paululumque ex via excedebat, locisque impeditis ac silvestribus sese occultabat atque iis regionibus, quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat, pecora atque homines ex agris in silvas compellebat: et quum equitatus noster liberius praedandi vastandique causa se in agros effunderet, omnibus viis notis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat et magno cum periculo nostrorum equitum cum iis confligebat, atque hoc metu latius vagari prohibebat. Relinquebatur, ut neque longius ab agmine legionum discedi Caesar pateretur, et tantum in agris vastandis incendiisque faciendis hostibus noceretur, quantum labore atque itinere legionarii milites efficere poterant.

20. Interim Trinobantes,[4] prope firmissima earum regionum civitas, ex qua Mandubratius adolescens, Caesaris fidem secutus, ad eum in continentem Galliam venerat[5] (cujus pater Imanuentius in ea civitate regnum obtinuerat interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno; ipse fuga mortem vitaverat) legatos ad Caesarem mittunt pollicenturque, sese ei dedituros atque imperata facturos: petunt, ut Mandubratium ab injuria Cassivellauni defendat atque in civitatem mittat, qui praesit imperiumque obtineat. His Caesar imperat obsides XL. frumentumque exercitui, Mandubratiumque ad eos mittit. Illi imperata celeriter fecerunt, obsides ad numerum[6] frumentaque miserunt.

21. Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum[7] injuria

[1] *Dimittere* here signifies, 'to relinquish' or 'abandon.'

[2] That is, 'of the success of a struggle.'

[3] *Servare*, 'to watch closely.'

[4] The Trinobantes inhabited the modern county of Essex, and their capital, Camulodunum, is the modern town of Colchester.

[5] Compare iv. 21.

[6] *Numerum*, supply *constitutum;* that is, 'they sent hostages to the amount required of them.'

[7] *Militum* is a subjective genitive; 'from all injury which the soldiers might inflict upon them.'

prohibitis, Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi, legationibus missis sese Caesari dedunt. Ab his cognoscit, non longe ex eo loco oppidum[1] Cassivellauni abesse, silvis paludibusque munitum, quo satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. (Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossa munierunt, quo incursionis hostium vitandae causa convenire consuerunt.) Eo proficiscitur cum legionibus: locum reperit egregie natura atque opere munitum; tamen hunc duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes, paulisper morati, militum nostrorum impetum non tulerunt seseque alia ex parte oppidi ejecerunt. Magnus ibi numerus pecoris repertus, multique in fuga sunt comprehensi atque interfecti.

22. Dum haec in his locis geruntur, Cassivellaunus ad Cantium, quod esse ad mare supra demonstravimus, quibus regionibus quatuor reges praeerant, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, Segonax, nuncios mittit atque his imperat, uti coactis omnibus copiis, castra navalia[2] de improviso adoriantur atque oppugnent. Ii quum ad castra venissent, nostri, eruptione facta, multis eorum interfectis, capto etiam nobili duce Lugotorige, suos incolumes reduxerunt. Cassivellaunus, hoc proelio nunciato, tot detrimentis acceptis, vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum, legatos per Atrebatem Commium de deditione ad Caesarem mittit. Caesar, quum statuisset hiemem in continenti propter repentinos Galliae motus agere, neque multum aestatis superesset atque id facile extrahi[3] posse intelligeret, obsides imperat et quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet, constituit: interdicit atque imperat[4] Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio neu Trinobantibus noceat.

23. Obsidibus acceptis, exercitum reducit ad mare, naves invenit refectas. His deductis, quod et captivorum magnum

[1] Where this town was situated cannot possibly be guessed, nor can we trace Caesar's march north of the Thames.

[2] *Castra navalia.* See chap. 11.

[3] *Extrahi;* that is, *cunctando perdi; extrahere* signifying, 'to spend time in inactivity, and for no other purpose than to get over it.'

[4] The two words *interdicit* and *imperat*, the one of which is negative and the other positive, express Caesar's command in the strongest way, indicating both what he wished to be done, and what he wished not to be done. The clause which follows with *ne*, however, has reference only to *interdicit.*

numerum habebat, et nonnullae tempestate deperierant naves, duobus commeatibus[1] exercitum reportare instituit. Ac sic accidit, uti ex tanto navium numero, tot navigationibus, neque hoc, neque superiore anno, ulla omnino navis, quae milites portaret, desideraretur: at ex iis, quae inanes ex continenti ad eum remitterentur, prioris commeatus expositis militibus, et quas postea Labienus faciendas curaverat numero LX., perpaucae locum caperent; reliquae fere omnes rejicerentur. Quas quum aliquamdiu Caesar frustra exspectasset, ne anni tempore a navigatione excluderetur, quod aequinoctium suberat, necessario angustius milites collocavit, ac summa tranquillitate consecuta, secunda inita quum solvisset[2] vigilia, prima luce terram attigit omnesque incolumes naves perduxit.

24. Subductis navibus concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivae[3] peracto, quod eo anno frumentum in Gallia propter siccitates[4] angustius[5] provenerat, coactus est aliter ac superioribus annis, exercitum in hibernis collocare legionesque in plures civitates distribuere: ex quibus unam in Morinos ducendam C. Fabio legato dedit; alteram in Nervios Q. Ciceroni;[6] tertiam in Essuos[7] L. Roscio; quartam in Remis cum T. Labieno in confinio Trevirorum hiemare jussit; tres in Belgio[8] collocavit: his M. Crassum quaestorem, et L. Munatium Plancum et C. Trebonium legatos praefecit. Unam legionem, quam proxime trans Padum conscripserat, et cohortes quinque in Eburones, quorum pars maxima est inter Mosam ac Rhenum, qui sub imperio Ambiorigis et Cativolci[9] erant, misit. His

[1] *Commeatus* here is, 'the act of going;' that is, 'the voyage across the sea.' Caesar left Britain about the 25th of September.

[2] *Solvisset;* supply *anchoras* or *naves.*

[3] *Samarobriva*, afterwards called Ambiani, is the modern town of Amiens, on the river Samara (Sambre), from which the ancient name of the town is derived.

[4] See iv. 38, note 2.

[5] That is, 'rather scantily.'

[6] Q. Cicero is the brother of the orator Cicero; he had been with Caesar in Britain.

[7] The tribe of the Essui is utterly unknown, though it is supposed that they inhabited a part of Normandy.

[8] *Belgium* is the name of a portion of the country inhabited by the Belgae; it comprised the districts of the Bellovaci, Atrebates, and Ambiani. See chap. 46; compare ii. 4.

[9] See chap. 26, vi. 31.

militibus Q. Titurium Sabinum et L. Aurunculeium Cottam legatos praeesse jussit. Ad hunc modum distributis legionibus, facillime inopiae frumentariae sese mederi posse existimavit: atque harum tamen omnium legionum hiberna (praeter eam, quam L. Roscio in pacatissimam et quietissimam partem ducendam dederat) milibus passuum centum continebantur. Ipse interea, quoad legiones collocatas munitaque hiberna cognovisset,[1] in Gallia morari constituit.

25. Erat in Carnutibus summo loco[2] natus Tasgetius, cujus majores in sua civitate regnum obtinuerant. Huic Caesar, pro ejus virtute atque in se benevolentia, quod in omnibus bellis singulari ejus opera fuerat usus, majorum locum restituerat. Tertium jam hunc annum regnantem inimici palam, multis etiam ex civitate auctoribus, eum[3] interfecerunt. Defertur ea res ad Caesarem. Ille veritus, quod ad plures pertinebat,[4] ne civitas eorum impulsu deficeret, L. Plancum cum legione ex Belgio celeriter in Carnutes proficisci jubet ibique hiemare; quorumque opera cognoverit Tasgetium interfectum, hos comprehensos ad se mittere. Interim ab omnibus legatis quaestòribusque, quibus legiones tradiderat, certior factus est, in hiberna perventum locumque hibernis[5] esse munitum.

26. Diebus circiter xv., quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige et Cativolco: qui quum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottaeque praesto fuissent frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari Treviri nunciis impulsi, suos concitaverunt, subitoque oppressis lignatoribus, magna manu castra oppugnatum venerunt. Quum celeriter nostri arma cepissent vallumque adscendissent, atque, una ex parte Hispanis equitibus emissis, equestri proelio superiores fuissent, desperata re, hostes ab oppugnatione suos reduxerunt. Tum

[1] 'Until he should have learnt that the winter quarters were properly established and fortified.'

[2] *Summo loco;* that is, *summo genere*, of a very high or noble family. Hence *locus* is also used in the sense of rank or dignity.

[3] *Eum* refers to Tasgetius, and the preceding *hunc* belongs to *annum;* though there is a sort of pleonasm in the combination of *hunc* and *jam.*

[4] That is, the matter was one that concerned more persons than one; many were concerned in it.

[5] *Hibernis* is the dative, denoting the object for which the place was destined. Compare vii. 15.

suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent; habere sese, quae de re communi dicere vellent, quibus rebus controversias minui posse sperarent.

27. Mittitur ad eos colloquendi causa C. Arpineius, eques Romanus, familiaris Q. Titurii, et Q. Junius ex Hispania quidam, qui jam ante missu Caesaris[1] ad Ambiorigem ventitare consueverat: apud quos Ambiorix ad hunc modum locutus est: sese pro Caesaris in se beneficiis plurimum ei confiteri debere, quod ejus opera stipendio liberatus esset, quod Aduatucis finitimis suis pendere consuesset: quodque ei et filius et fratris filius ab Caesare remissi essent, quos Aduatuci, obsidum numero missos, apud se in servitute et catenis tenuissent: neque id, quod fecerit de oppugnatione castrorum, aut judicio aut voluntate sua fecisse, sed coactu civitatis; suaque esse ejusmodi imperia,[2] ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. Civitati porro hanc fuisse belli causam, quod repentinae Gallorum conjurationi resistere non potuerit: id se facile ex humilitate[3] sua probare posse, quod non adeo sit imperitus rerum, ut suis copiis populum Romanum se superare posse confidat: sed esse Galliae commune consilium; omnibus hibernis Caesaris oppugnandis hunc esse dictum diem, ne qua legio alterae[4] legioni subsidio venire posset: non facile Gallos Gallis negare potuisse, praesertim quum de recuperanda communi libertate consilium initum videretur. Quibus quoniam pro pietate[5] satisfecerit, habere nunc se rationem officii pro beneficiis Caesaris; monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio, ut suae ac militum saluti consulat: magnam manum Germanorum conductam Rhenum transisse; hanc adfore biduo. Ipsorum esse consilium,[6] velintne prius, quam finitimi sentiant, eductos ex

[1] *Missu Caesaris* is the same as *mittente Caesare.* See vi. 7.

[2] *Imperia* here are the rights and powers which belong to him as king.

[3] *Humilitas* is the opposite of *potestas*, and, accordingly, 'weakness,' or 'want of power.'

[4] *Alterae* occurs now and then in the dative for *alteri.* In like manner we also find *altero* in the dative, instead of *alteri.* See vii. 25.

[5] *Pietas*; this word comprises all the duties which a man has to perform towards God, his parents, friends, and his country. Here it refers more especially to the duties he owed to his country.

[6] *Ipsorum esse consilium*, it was in their power (he said) to determine whether, &c.

hibernis milites aut ad Ciceronem aut ad Labienum deducere, quorum alter milia passuum circiter L., alter paulo amplius ab his absit. Illud se polliceri et jurejurando confirmare, tutum iter per fines suos daturum; quod quum faciat, et civitati sese consulere, quod hibernis levetur, et Caesari pro ejus meritis gratiam referre. Hac oratione habita, discedit Ambiorix.

28. Arpineius et Junius, quae audierint, ad legatos deferunt. Illi, repentina re perturbati, etsi ab hoste ea dicebantur, non tamen negligenda existimabant: maximeque hac re permovebantur, quod civitatem ignobilem atque humilem Eburonum sua sponte populo Romano bellum facere ausam, vix erat credendum. Itaque ad consilium rem deferunt magnaque inter eos exsistit controversia. L. Aurunculeius compluresque tribuni militum et primorum ordinum centuriones nihil temere agendum, neque ex hibernis injussu Caesaris discedendum existimabant: quantasvis magnas[1] etiam copias Germanorum sustineri posse munitis hibernis docebant:[2] rem esse testimonio, quod primum hostium impetum, multis ultro vulneribus illatis,[3] fortissime sustinuerint: re frumentaria non premi:[4] interea et ex proximis hibernis, et a Caesare conventura subsidia: postremo, quid esse levius[5] aut turpius, quam auctore hoste de summis rebus capere consilium?

29. Contra ea Titurius sero[6] facturos clamitabat, quum majores hostium manus, adjunctis Germanis, convenissent: aut quum aliquid calamitatis in proximis hibernis esset acceptum, brevem consulendi esse occasionem: Caesarem arbitrari[7] profectum in Italiam: neque aliter Carnutes interficiendi Tasgetii consilium fuisse capturos, neque Eburones, si ille

[1] *Quantasvis magnas.* The word *magnas* in this expression is, properly speaking, superfluous; but pleonasms of the same kind often occur in Latin, and render the expression emphatic: 'if the forces of the Germans were ever so great.'

[2] *Docere* here has the meaning of *demonstrare.*

[3] The meaning is: they (the Romans), without being commanded by Caesar (*ultro*), had bravely held out against the enemy, and wounded many of them.

[4] *Premi;* namely, *se.*

[5] *Levis* here is 'thoughtless' or 'unprincipled.' The *quid* with the infinitive in this sentence is only an emphatic mode of speaking, which often occurs in Latin, and is equivalent to *nihil esse levius aut turpius.*

[6] *Sero;* that is, too late.

[7] *Arbitrari;* supply *hostes* or *Gallos.*

adesset, tanta cum contemtione nostri ad castra venturos esse: non hostem auctorem, sed rem spectare; subesse Rhenum; magno esse Germanis dolori Ariovisti mortem[1] et superiores nostras victorias: ardere Galliam, tot contumeliis acceptis sub populi Romani imperium redactam,[2] superiore gloria rei militaris exstincta. Postremo, quis hoc sibi persuaderet, sine certa re[3] Ambiorigem ad ejusmodi consilium descendisse? Suam sententiam in utramque partem esse tutam: si nil sit durius,[4] nullo periculo ad proximam legionem perventuros; si Gallia omnis cum Germanis consentiat, unam esse in celeritate positam salutem. Cottae quidem atque eorum, qui dissentirent, consilium quem haberet exitum? In quo si non praesens periculum, at certe longinqua obsidione fames esset pertimescenda.

30. Hac in utramque partem disputatione habita, quum a Cotta primisque ordinibus[5] acriter resisteretur, vincite,[6] inquit, si ita vultis, Sabinus, et id clariore voce, ut magna pars militum exaudiret: neque is sum, inquit, qui gravissime ex vobis mortis periculo terrear:[7] hi sapient, et si gravius quid acciderit, abs te rationem reposcent: qui, si per te liceat, perendino die cum proximis hibernis conjuncti, communem cum reliquis belli casum[8] sustineant, nec rejecti et relegati longe ab ceteris aut ferro aut fame intereant.

31. Consurgitur ex consilio; comprehendunt[9] utrumque et orant, ne suā dissensione et pertinacia rem in summum peri-

[1] From this passage we learn that Ariovistus died soon after his flight across the Rhine (see i. 53).

[2] *Redactam;* namely, *se esse.*

[3] 'Without a certain and substantial reason.'

[4] That is, *si nil gravius acciderit*, 'if nothing extraordinary,' or 'no uncommon misfortune happened.'

[5] That is, by the centurions of the first orders.

[6] *Vincere*, in disputes, signifies 'to be in the right,' or at least 'to gain the upper hand;' hence here: 'carry your opinion, if you so wish it.'

[7] *Qui terrear;* that is, *neque talis sum, ut terrear.* The expression *ex vobis* must be closely connected with *vehementissime*, and is equivalent to the genitive *vestrum.*

[8] *Casum belli;* that is, *eventum belli*, but contains the idea of an unfortunate event or issue of the war.

[9] *Comprehendere* here has the meaning of 'to embrace;' whereas commonly it signifies 'to seize' or 'to arrest.' Compare Cic. *Epist. ad Div.* xiii. 15.

culum deducant: facilem esse rem, seu maneant, seu proficiscantur, si modo unum omnes sentiant ac probent; contra in dissensione nullam se salutem perspicere. Res disputatione ad mediam noctem perducitur: tandem dat Cotta permotus manus:[1] superat sententia Sabini. Pronunciatur, prima luce ituros: consumitur vigiliis reliqua pars noctis, quum sua quisque miles circumspiceret, quid secum portare posset, quid ex instrumento[2] hibernorum relinquere cogeretur. Omnia excogitantur,[3] quare nec sine periculo maneatur, et languore militum et vigiliis periculum augeatur. Prima luce sic ex castris proficiscuntur, ut quibus[4] esset persuasum non ab hoste, sed ab homine amicissimo Ambiorige consilium datum, longissimo agmine maximisque impedimentis.

32. At hostes, posteaquam ex nocturno fremitu vigiliisque de profectione eorum senserunt,[5] collocatis insidiis bipartito in silvis opportuno atque occulto loco, a milibus passuum circiter duobus,[6] Romanorum adventum exspectabant: et quum se major pars agminis in magnam convallem[7] demisisset, ex utraque parte ejus vallis subito se ostenderunt novissimosque premere et primos prohibere ascensu atque iniquissimo nostris loco proelium committere coeperunt.

33. Tum demum Titurius, ut qui nihil ante providisset, trepidare, concursare, cohortesque disponere; haec tamen ipsa timide, atque ut eum omnia deficere viderentur: quod plerumque iis accidere consuevit, qui in ipso negotio consilium capere coguntur. At Cotta, qui[8] cogitasset, haec posse in itinere accidere, atque ob eam causam profectionis auctor

[1] *Manus dare* is a symbolic action, expressing that a person surrenders his independence, or owns that he is conquered. Corn. Nepos, *Hamilc.* 1; Cic. *De Amic.* 26.

[2] *Instrumentum* has a collective meaning, and denotes all the utensils and furniture required in a stationary camp.

[3] Namely, *a militibus;* for Caesar here describes the thoughts and reflections that passed through the minds of the soldiers.

[4] *Ut quibus* is equivalent in meaning to *quasi iis*, 'as if they,' &c. See chap. 33.

[5] *Sentire de* here signifies, 'to become aware of.'

[6] See ii. 7, note 1.

[7] *Convallis* is a place shut in between two hills, whereas *vallis* is the low ground at the foot of a hill; but this difference is not always strictly observed.

[8] The *qui* here implies the idea of *quum*, in the sense of 'although;' hence the subjunctives *cogitasset* and *fuisset.* Compare iv. 34, v. 4.

non fuisset, nulla in re communi saluti deerat, et in appellandis[1] cohortandisque militibus imperatoris et in pugna militis officia praestabat. Quumque propter longitudinem agminis minus facile per se omnia obire, et quid quoque loco faciendum esset, providere possent, jusserunt pronunciare,[2] ut impedimenta relinquerent atque in orbem consisterent. Quod consilium etsi in ejusmodi casu reprehendendum non est, tamen incommode accidit: nam et nostris militibus spem minuit, et hostes ad pugnam alacriores effecit, quod non sine summo timore et desperatione id factum videbatur. Praeterea accidit, quod fieri necesse erat, ut vulgo milites ab signis discederent, quae quisque eorum carissima haberet, ab impedimentis petere atque abripere properaret, clamore ac fletu omnia complerentur.

34. At barbaris consilium[3] non defuit: nam duces eorum tota acie pronunciare jusserunt, ne quis ab loco discederet: illorum esse praedam, atque illis reservari, quaecumque Romani reliquissent· proinde omnia in victoria posita existimarent. Erant et virtute et numero pugnando pares:[4] nostri tamen, etsi ab duce et a fortuna deserebantur, tamen omnem spem salutis in virtute ponebant, et quoties quaeque cohors procurreret, ab ea parte magnus hostium numerus cadebat. Qua re animadversa, Ambiorix pronunciari jubet, ut procul tela conjiciant neu propius accedant, et quam in partem Romani impetum fecerint, cedant; levitate armorum et quotidiana exercitatione nihil iis noceri posse: rursus se ad signa recipientes[5] insequantur.

35. Quo praecepto ab iis diligentissime observato, quum quaepiam cohors ex orbe excesserat atque impetum fecerat, hostes velocissime refugiebant. Interim eam partem nudari necesse erat et ab latere aperto tela recipi. Rursus, quum in eum locum, unde erant progressi, reverti coeperant, et ab iis,

[1] *Appellare* here is the same as *alloqui*, 'to address.'

[2] *Jusserunt pronunciare;* the subject of *jusserunt* is *duces* or the commanders, and the persons whom they command to proclaim what is to be done are the centurions. See chap. 34.

[3] *Consilium* here is 'presence of mind,' which is the result of previous thought and deliberation (*consilium*).

[4] The meaning of this passage is: both their valour and their number (in which they surpassed the Romans) rendered them able to cope with the Romans.

[5] To *insequentes* supply *Romanos*.

qui cesserant, et ab iis, qui proximi steterant, circumveniebantur; sin autem locum tenere vellent, nec virtuti locus relinquebatur, neque ab tanta multitudine conjecta tela conferti vitare poterant. Tamen tot incommodis conflictati, multis vulneribus acceptis, resistebant, et magna parte diei consumta, quum a prima luce ad horam octavam pugnaretur, nihil, quod ipsis esset indignum, committebant. Tum T. Balventio, qui superiore anno primum pilum duxerat, viro forti et magnae auctoritatis, utrumque femur tragula transjicitur: Q. Lucanius, ejusdem ordinis, fortissime pugnans, dum circumvento filio subvenit, interficitur: L. Cotta, legatus, omnes cohortes ordinesque adhortans, in[1] adversum os funda vulneratur.

36. His rebus permotus Q. Titurius, quum procul Ambiorigem suos cohortantem conspexisset, interpretem suum Cn. Pompeium ad eum mittit, rogatum, ut sibi militibusque parcat. Ille appellatus[2] respondit: si velit secum colloqui, licere; sperare, a multitudine impetrari posse, quod ad militum salutem pertineat; ipsi vero nihil nocitum iri, inque eam rem se suam fidem interponere. Ille cum Cotta saucio communicat, si videatur, pugna ut excedant et cum Ambiorige una colloquantur: sperare, ab eo de sua ac militum salute[3] impetrare posse. Cotta se ad armatum hostem iturum negat, atque in eo constitit.[4]

37. Sabinus, quos in praesentia tribunos militum circum se habebat et primorum ordinum centuriones, se sequi jubet, et quum propius Ambiorigem accessisset, jussus arma abjicere, imperatum facit suisque, ut idem faciant, imperat. Interim, dum de conditionibus inter se agunt longiorque consulto ab Ambiorige instituitur sermo, paullatim circumventus interficitur. Tum vero suo more victoriam conclamant[5] atque ululatum tollunt, impetuque in nostros facto ordines perturbant. Ibi L. Cotta pugnans interficitur cum maxima parte militum;

[1] *In* is here used with the accusative, because the verb *vulnerare* implies the idea of aiming at, or throwing the missile at a person.

[2] *Appellatus;* see chap. 33, note 1.

[3] *De salute impetrare* is not the same as *salutem impetrare;* the former signifies, 'to obtain terms by which safety is granted to a certain extent,' whereas the latter is 'to obtain safety' absolutely.

[4] That is, *perstitit*, 'he persisted in his declaration,' or rather, 'his actions were consistent with his declaration.'

[5] *Victoriam conclamant;* that is, *conclamant victoriam partam esse.*

reliqui se in castra recipiunt, unde erant egressi: ex quibus L. Petrosidius aquilifer, quum magna multitudine hostium premeretur, aquilam intra vallum projecit, ipse pro castris fortissime pugnans occiditur. Illi[1] aegre ad noctem oppugnationem sustinent: noctu ad unum omnes, desperata salute, se ipsi interficiunt. Pauci ex proelio elapsi, incertis itineribus per silvas ad T. Labienum legatum in hiberna perveniunt atque eum de rebus gestis certiorem faciunt.

38. Hac victoria sublatus Ambiorix statim cum equitatu in Aduatucos, qui erant ejus regno finitimi, proficiscitur; neque noctem neque diem intermittit peditatumque se subsequi jubet. Re demonstrata Aduatucisque concitatis, postero die in Nervios pervenit hortaturque, ne sui in perpetuum liberandi atque ulciscendi Romanos pro iis, quas acceperint, injuriis occasionem dimittant: interfectos esse legatos duo magnamque partem exercitus interisse demonstrat; nihil esse negotii, subito oppressam legionem, quae cum Cicerone hiemet, interfici;[2] se ad eam rem profitetur adjutorem. Facile hac oratione Nerviis persuadet.

39. Itaque confestim dimissis nunciis ad Ceutrones, Grudios, Levacos, Pleumoxios, Geidunos,[3] qui omnes sub eorum imperio sunt, quam maximas manus possunt, cogunt et de improviso ad Ciceronis hiberna advolant, nondum ad eum fama de Titurii morte perlata. Huic quoque accidit, quod fuit necesse, ut nonnulli milites, qui lignationis munitionisque causa in silvas discessissent, repentino equitum adventu interciperentur. His circumventis, magna manu Eburones, Nervii, Aduatuci atque horum omnium socii et clientes legionem oppugnare incipiunt: nostri celeriter ad arma concurrunt, vallum conscendunt. Aegre is dies sustentatur,[4] quod omnem spem hostes in celeritate ponebant, atque hanc adepti[5] victoriam in perpetuum se fore victores confidebant.

[1] *Illi* are those who had taken refuge within the camp.

[2] *Legionem interfici* is the subject of the sentence, and the words *nihil esse negotii* are the predicate: 'the cutting to pieces of the legion, he said, was a matter of no difficulty.'

[3] All the tribes here enumerated as subjects or clients of the Nervii are not mentioned by any other ancient writer, whence it is impossible to say what districts they inhabited.

[4] That is, *aegre eo die milites sustentant hostium impetum.*

[5] That is, *si hanc adepti essent victoriam;* the participle *adepti* having the meaning of a conditional clause. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 635, note 1.

40. Mittuntur ad Caesarem confestim ab Cicerone litterae, magnis propositis praemiis, si pertulissent.[1] Obsessis omnibus viis, missi intercipiuntur. Noctu ex ea materia, quam munitionis causa comportaverant, turres admodum cxx. excitantur[2] incredibili celeritate: quae deesse operi videbantur, perficiuntur. Hostes postero die, multo majoribus copiis coactis, castra oppugnant, fossam complent. Ab nostris eadem ratione, qua pridie, resistitur: hoc idem deinceps reliquis fit diebus. Nulla pars nocturni temporis ad laborem intermittitur: non aegris, non vulneratis facultas quietis datur: quaecumque ad proximi diei oppugnationem opus sunt, noctu comparantur: multae praeustae sudes, magnus muralium pilorum[3] numerus instituitur; turres contabulantur, pinnae[4] loricaeque ex cratibus attexuntur. Ipse Cicero, quum tenuissima valetudine[5] esset, ne nocturnum quidem sibi tempus ad quietem relinquebat, ut ultro[6] militum concursu ac vocibus sibi parcere cogeretur.

41. Tunc duces principesque Nerviorum, qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant, colloqui sese velle dicunt. Facta potestate, eadem quae Ambiorix cum Titurio egerat,[7] commemorant, omnem esse in armis Galliam, Germanos Rhenum transisse, Caesaris reliquorumque hiberna oppugnari. Addunt etiam de Sabini morte. Ambiorigem ostentant fidei faciundae[8] causa: errare eos dicunt, si quidquam ab his praesidii sperent, qui suis rebus dif-

[1] Supply 'those to whom they were intrusted.' The ellipsis is rather bold, but instances of a similar kind now and then do occur, especially in cases where *qui* is used in the same sense as *si* in our passage.

[2] *Excitare* here is the same as *erigere*, as in ii. 14, but it contains the notion of rapidity, which *erigere* does not. The word *admodum* is the same as *ad* with numerals, and signifies 'nearly' or 'almost.'

[3] *Murales pili* are the *pili* or lances which were hurled upon the besiegers from the walls.

[4] *Pinnae*, a square kind of breastwork, round the top of a tower, behind which the soldiers were protected against the darts of the enemies. They seem to have been similar to the breastwork round the tops of Gothic towers. The *pinnae* alternated with *loricae*; that is, a kind of wicker-work serving a similar purpose as the *pinnae*.

[5] *Tenuissima valetudo*, 'very delicate or weak health.'

[6] *Ultro* has in this instance the meaning of 'even.'

[7] See chap. 24.

[8] That is, they brought forward Ambiorix as a proof of the truth of what they said, and at the same time to intimidate Cicero.

fidant; sese tamen hoc esse in Ciceronem populumque Romanum animo, ut nihil nisi hiberna recusent atque hanc inveterascere consuetudinem[1] nolint: licere illis incolumibus[2] per se[3] ex hibernis discedere, et quascumque in partes velint, sine metu proficisci. Cicero ad haec unum modo respondit: non esse consuetudinem populi Romani ullam accipere ab hoste armato conditionem: si ab armis discedere velint, se adjutore utantur legatosque ad Caesarem mittant: sperare[4] pro ejus justitia, quae petierint, impetraturos.

42. Ab hac spe[5] repulsi Nervii, vallo pedum XI. et fossa pedum XV. hiberna cingunt. Haec et superiorum annorum consuetudine a nostris cognoverant, et quosdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur: sed nulla ferramentorum copia,[6] quae sunt ad hunc usum idonea, gladiis cespitem circumcidere, manibus sagulisque terram exhaurire[7] cogebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognosci potuit: nam minus horis tribus milium[8] decem in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt: reliquisque diebus turres ad altitudinem valli, falces testudinesque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare ac facere coeperunt.

43. Septimo oppugnationis die, maximo coorto vento, ferventes fusili ex argilla glandes[9] fundis et fervefacta jacula in casas, quae more Gallico stramentis erant tectae, jacere coeperunt. Hae celeriter ignem comprehenderunt et venti magnitudine in omnem castrorum locum distulerunt. Hostes maximo clamore insecuti, quasi parta jam atque explorata

[1] Supply 'of establishing their winter quarters in Gaul.'

[2] Respecting this attraction with *licet* and similar verbs, see Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 601.

[3] *Per se*; that is, 'as far as they (the Nervii) were concerned.'

[4] *Sperare;* supply *se*, and to *impetraturos* supply *eos esse.*

[5] Namely, of inducing the Romans to quit their camp.

[6] *Nulla copia* is an ablative absolute, for *quum nulla copia esset.* See ii. 8 and 9.

[7] *Exhaurire;* this verb can, properly speaking, be joined only to *manibus*, 'they took up the loose soil with their hands, and then carried it away in their military cloaks;' and to *sagulis* must be supplied a verb signifying 'to carry away.' This mode of speaking is called a *Zeugma.*

[8] *Milium;* supply *passuum.*

[9] The *glandes* are balls made of clay; they were of moist or fluid clay, and then burnt, and while red-hot, they were thrown by means of a sling (*funda*) among the tents of the enemy, to set them on fire.

victoria, turres testudinesque agere et scalis vallum ascendere coeperunt. At tanta militum virtus atque ea praesentia animi fuit, ut, quum undique flamma torrerentur maximaque telorum multitudine premerentur suaque omnia impedimenta atque omnes fortunas conflagrare intelligerent, non modo demigrandi causa de vallo decederet nemo, sed paene ne respiceret quidem quisquam; ac tum omnes acerrime fortissimeque pugnarent. Hic dies nostris longe gravissimus fuit; sed tamen hunc habuit eventum, ut eo die maximus hostium numerus vulneraretur atque interficeretur, ut[1] se sub ipso vallo constipaverant recessumque primis ultimi non dabant. Paullum quidem intermissa flamma, et quodam loco turri adacta et contingente vallum, tertiae cohortis centuriones ex eo, quo stabant, loco recesserunt suosque omnes removerunt; nutu vocibusque hostes, si introire vellent, vocare coeperunt, quorum progredi ausus est nemo. Tum ex omni parte lapidibus conjectis deturbati turrisque succensa est.

44. Erant in ea legione fortissimi viri centuriones, qui[2] jam primis ordinibus appropinquarent, T. Pulfio et L. Varenus. Hi perpetuas inter se controversias habebant, quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de loco[3] summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex iis Pulfio, quum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, Quid dubitas, inquit, Varene? aut quem locum probandae virtutis tuae spectas? hic dies, hic dies de nostris controversiis judicabit. Haec quum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quaeque pars hostium confertissima visa est, in eam irrumpit. Ne Varenus quidem tum vallo sese continet, sed omnium veritus existimationem subsequitur. Mediocri spatio relicto, Pulfio pilum in hostes mittit atque unum ex multitudine procurrentem transjicit, quo percusso et exanimato, hunc[4] scutis protegunt hostes, in illum tela universi conjiciunt neque dant regrediundi facultatem. Transfigitur scutum Pulfioni et verutum in balteo defigitur. Avertit hic casus vaginam, et gladium educere conanti dextram moratur

[1] *Ut* here signifies the acting cause, and is almost equivalent to *quum*. Compare vi. 7, vii. 45, 61, 88.

[2] *Qui* in this instance contains the idea of *quum*. See chap. 33, note 8.

[3] *Locus* here is rank in the army, for it was said at the beginning of the chapter that these centurions were near advancing to the highest rank.

[4] Respecting *hunc* after the ablative absolute, see iii. 14, note 7.

manum: impeditum hostes circumsistunt. Succurrit inimicus illi Varenus et laboranti subvenit. Ad hunc se confestim a Pulfione omnis multitudo convertit: illum veruto transfixum arbitrantur. Occursat ocius gladio comminusque rem gerit Varenus, atque uno interfecto reliquos paullum propellit; dum cupidius instat, in locum inferiorem dejectus[1] concidit. Huic rursus circumvento fert subsidium Pulfio atque ambo incolumes, compluribus interfectis, summa cum laude sese intra munitiones recipiunt. Sic fortuna in contentione et certamine utrumque versavit,[2] ut alter alteri inimicus auxilio salutique esset, neque dijudicari posset, uter utri virtute anteferendus videretur.

45. Quanto erat in dies gravior atque asperior oppugnatio, et maxime quod, magna parte militum confecta vulneribus, res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat, tanto crebriores litterae nunciique ad Caesarem mittebantur: quorum pars deprehensa in conspectu nostrorum militum cum cruciatu necabantur. Erat unus intus[3] Nervius, nomine Vertico, loco natus honesto, qui a prima obsidione ad Ciceronem perfugerat suamque ei fidem praestiterat. Hic servo spe libertatis magnisque persuadet praemiis, ut litteras ad Caesarem deferat. Has ille in jaculo illigatas effert;[4] et Gallus inter Gallos sine ulla suspicione versatus ad Caesarem pervenit. Ab eo de periculis Ciceronis legionisque cognoscitur.

46. Caesar, acceptis litteris hora circiter undecima diei, statim nuncium in Bellovacos ad M. Crassum[5] quaestorem mittit, cujus hiberna aberant ab eo milia pasuum XXV. Jubet media nocte legionem proficisci celeriterque ad se venire. Exiit cum nuncio Crassus. Alterum ad C. Fabium legatum mittit, ut in Atrebatium fines legionem adducat, qua sibi iter faciundum sciebat. Scribit Labieno, si reipublicae[6] commodo facere posset, cum legione ad fines Nerviorum veniat: reliquam

[1] *Dejectus* is 'driven back,' or 'repelled.'

[2] *Versavit;* that is, turned the scale sometimes this, and sometimes that way, or played with them. The *contentio* is the rivalry between the two men, but the *certamen* is the struggle with their enemies.

[3] *Intus,* 'within;' supply 'our camp.'

[4] *Effert;* supply *e castris.*

[5] See chap. 24.

[6] *Respublica* is here used in the sense of 'the common good,' or *salus publica.*

partem exercitus, quod paullo aberat longius, non putat exspectandam; equites circiter quadringentos ex proximis hibernis cogit.[1]

47. Hora circiter tertia ab antecursoribus de Crassi adventu certior factus, eo die milia pasuum viginti progreditur. Crassum Samarobrivae[2] praeficit legionemque ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obsides civitatum, litteras publicas[3] frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandae hiemis causa devexerat, relinquebat. Fabius, ut imperatum erat, non ita multum moratus, in itinere cum legione occurrit. Labienus, interitu Sabini et caede cohortium cognita, quum omnes ad eum Trevirorum copiae venissent, veritus[4] ne, si ex hibernis fugae similem profectionem fecisset, hostium impetum sustinere non posset, praesertim quos recenti victoria efferri sciret, litteras Caesari remittit,[5] quanto cum periculo legionem ex hibernis educturus esset: rem gestam in Eburonibus perscribit: docet, omnes equitatus peditatusque copias Trevirorum tria milia pasuum longe[6] ab suis castris consedisse.

48. Caesar, consilio ejus probato, etsi opinione trium legionum dejectus,[7] ad duas redierat, tamen unum communis salutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. Ibi ex captivis cognoscit, quae apud Ciceronem gerantur, quantoque in periculo res sit. Tum cuidam ex equitibus Gallis magnis praemiis persuadet, uti ad Ciceronem epistolam deferat. Hanc Graecis conscriptam litteris[8] mittit, ne, intercepta epistola, nostra ab hostibus con-

[1] *Cogit;* that is, *coagit* or *colligit,* 'he assembles.'

[2] See chap. 24, note 3.

[3] These *litterae publicae* consisted of the accounts of the army, despatches, reports, and the like.

[4] *Veritus ne—non posset.* The two negatives *ne* and *non* in this sentence neutralise each other, and are therefore equivalent to *ut.* See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 535.

[5] *Remittere* is 'to send in return,' or 'to write a reply.'

[6] The word *longe* is almost superfluous in this sentence, but it is added for the purpose of expressing the distance in an emphatic manner.

[7] *Opinione dejectus,* 'deprived of his hope or prospect of having three legions.' The expression *spe dejectus* is more common than *opinione dejectus.*

[8] It is not clear whether the letter was written in the Greek language, or in Latin and only in Greek characters, though the former seems more probable (see Polyaen. *Strateg.* viii. 23); at any rate, it is

silia cognoscantur. Si adire non possit, monet,[1] ut tragulam cum epistola, ad amentum deligata, intra munitiones castrorum abjiciat. In litteris scribit, se cum legionibus profectum celeriter adfore: hortatur, ut pristinam virtutem retineat. Gallus, periculum veritus, ut erat praeceptum, tragulam mittit. Haec casu ad turrim adhaesit, neque ab nostris biduo animadversa, tertio die a quodam milite conspicitur; demta ad Ciceronem defertur. Ille perlectam in conventu militum recitat, maximaque omnes laetitia adficit. Tum fumi incendiorum procul videbantur, quae res omnem dubitationem adventus legionum expulit.

49. Galli, re cognita per exploratores, obsidionem relinquunt, ad Caesarem omnibus copiis contendunt: eae erant armatorum circiter milia LX. Cicero, data facultate,[2] Gallum ab eodem Verticone, quem supra demonstravimus, repetit, qui litteras ad Caesarem referat: hunc admonet, iter caute diligenterque faciat: perscribit in litteris, hostes ab se discessisse omnemque ad eum multitudinem convertisse.[3] Quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar allatis suos facit certiores, eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat: postero die luce prima movet castra, et circiter milia passuum quatuor progressus, trans vallem magnam et rivum multitudinem hostium conspicatur. Erat magni periculi res cum tantis copiis iniquo loco dimicare. Tum,[4] quoniam obsidione liberatum Ciceronem sciebat, eoque[5] omnino remittendum de celeritate existimabat, consedit, et quam aequissimo potest loco, castra communit. Atque haec, etsi erant exigua per se, vix hominum milium VII., praesertim nullis cum impedimentis, tamen angustiis viarum,[6] quam maxime potest, contrahit, eo consilio, ut in summam contemtionem hostibus veniat. Interim, spe-

evident from this that the Nervii were not acquainted with the Greek alphabet.

[1] *Monet;* supply *Gallicum equitem,* to whom Caesar had given the letter.

[2] *Data facultate,* 'as he had the opportunity,' Vertico being in the camp.

[3] *Convertisse;* supply *se.*

[4] *Tum* here adds another reason to that contained in the words *erat magni periculi res.*

[5] *Eoque,* 'and for this reason.'

[6] The *viae* here mentioned are the roads or passages in the camp, which he made as narrow or as close together as he could, to get the camp in a small compass.

culatoribus in omnes partes dimissis, explorat, quo commodissime itinere vallem transire possit.

50. Eo die, parvulis equestribus proeliis ad aquam[1] factis, utrique sese suo loco continent: Galli, quod ampliores copias, quae nondum convenerant, exspectabant; Caesar,[2] si forte timoris simulatione hostes in suum locum elicere posset, ut citra vallem pro castris proelio contenderet; si id efficere non posset, ut exploratis itineribus minore cum periculo vallem rivumque transiret. Prima luce hostium equitatus ad castra accedit proeliumque cum nostris equitibus committit. Caesar consulto equites cedere seque in castra recipere jubet; simul ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui atque in his administrandis rebus quam maxime concursari[3] et cum simulatione timoris agi jubet.

51. Quibus omnibus rebus hostes invitati copias transducunt aciemque iniquo loco constituunt; nostris vero etiam de vallo deductis, propius accedunt et tela intra munitionem ex omnibus partibus conjiciunt; praeconibusque circummissis pronunciari jubent, seu quis Gallus, seu Romanus velit ante horam tertiam ad se transire, sine periculo licere; post id tempus non fore potestatem: ac sic nostros contemserunt, ut obstructis in speciem portis singulis ordinibus cespitum, quod ea[4] non posse introrumpere videbantur, alii vallum manu scindere, alii fossas complere inciperent. Tum Caesar, omnibus portis eruptione facta equitatuque emisso, celeriter hostes dat in fugam, sic, uti omnino pugnandi causa resisteret nemo; magnumque ex eis numerum occidit atque omnes armis exuit.

52. Longius prosequi veritus, quod silvae paludesque intercedebant, neque etiam parvulo detrimento illorum locum relinqui videbat,[5] omnibus suis incolumibus copiis, eodem die ad Ciceronem pervenit. Institutas turres, testudines munitionesque hostium admiratur: producta legione[6] cognoscit,

[1] *Ad aquam;* that is, near the river to which the soldiers had to go to provide themselves with water; for the Romans usually pitched their camp near some stream.

[2] *Caesar;* supply from the preceding clause *exspectabat.*

[3] *Concursare* signifies, 'to run about here and there in confusion.'

[4] *Ea;* supply *parte.*

[5] The meaning of this clause seems to be: he saw that, even if he were to abandon his position now (*locum relinquere*), the enemy had already sustained not an inconsiderable loss.

[6] *Producta legione;* namely, that he might review it.

non decimum quemque esse relictum militem sine vulnere. Ex his omnibus judicat rebus, quanto cum periculo et quanta cum virtute res sint administratae: Ciceronem pro ejus merito legionemque collaudat: centuriones singillatim tribunosque militum appellat, quorum egregiam fuisse virtutem testimonio Ciceronis cognoverat. De casu Sabini et Cottae certius ex captivis cognoscit. Postero die concione habita rem gestam proponit, milites consolatur et confirmat: quod detrimentum culpa et temeritate legati sit acceptum, hoc aequiore animo ferendum docet, quod, beneficio deorum immortalium et virtute eorum expiato incommodo, neque hostibus diutina laetatio,[1] neque ipsis longior dolor relinquatur.

53. Interim ad Labienum per Remos incredibili celeritate de victoria Caesaris fama perfertur, ut, quum ab hibernis Ciceronis milia passuum abesset circiter LX., eoque post horam nonam diei Caesar pervenisset, ante mediam noctem ad portas castrorum clamor oriretur, quo clamore significatio victoriae gratulatioque ab Remis Labieno fieret.[2] Hac fama ad Treviros perlata, Indutiomarus, qui postero die castra Labieni oppugnare decreverat, noctu profugit copiasque omnes in Treviros reducit. Caesar Fabium cum legione in sua remittit hiberna, ipse cum tribus legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis[3] hiemare constituit; et quod tanti motus Galliae exstiterant, totam hiemem ipse ad exercitum manere decrevit. Nam illo incommodo de Sabini morte perlato, omnes fere Galliae civitates de bello consultabant, nuncios legationesque in omnes partes dimittebant, et quid reliqui consilii caperent atque unde initium belli fieret, explorabant nocturnaque in locis desertis concilia habebant. Neque ullum fere totius hiemis tempus sine sollicitudine Caesaris intercessit, quin[4] aliquem de conciliis ac motu Gallorum nuncium acciperet. In his ab L. Roscio legato, quem legioni XIII.

[1] *Laetatio* does not occur anywhere except in this passage; but it is a very expressive word, and far better suited to this passage than the common word *laetitia*, for, being a verbal substantive, it expresses the act of rejoicing itself.

[2] *Fieret;* this subjunctive depends upon *quo*, which contains the idea of *ut;* namely, *tantus clamor, ut eo clamore fieret.*

[3] *Trina hiberna* are 'threefold winter quarters;' distributive numerals being frequently used with plural nouns which have no singular, instead of cardinal numerals. See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 115 and 119.

[4] *Quin;* that is, *quo non*, the *quo* referring to *tempus.*

praefecerat, certior est factus, magnas Gallorum copias earum civitatum, quae Armoricae[1] appellantur, oppugnandi sui causa convenisse: neque longius milia passuum VIII. ab hibernis suis abfuisse; sed nuncio allato de victoria Caesaris, discessisse, adeo, ut fugae similis discessus videretur.

54. At Caesar, principibus cujusque civitatis ad se evocatis, alias territando, quum se scire, quae fierent, denunciaret, alias cohortando, magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit. Tamen Senones, quae est civitas in primis firma et magnae inter Gallos auctoritatis, Cavarinum, quem Caesar apud eos regem constituerat (cujus frater Moritasgus, adventu[2] in Galliam Caesaris, cujusque majores regnum obtinuerant) interficere publico consilio conati, quum ille praesensisset ac profugisset, usque ad fines insecuti, regno domoque expulerunt: et missis ad Caesarem satisfaciundi[3] causa legatis, quum is omnem ad se senatum venire jussisset, dicto audientes non fuerunt. Tantum apud homines barbaros valuit, esse repertos aliquos principes[4] belli inferendi, tantamque omnibus voluntatum commutationem attulit,[5] ut, praeter Aeduos et Remos, quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit, alteros pro vetere ac perpetua erga populum Romanum fide, alteros pro recentibus Gallici belli officiis, nulla fere civitas fuerit non suspecta nobis. Idque adeo haud scio mirandumne sit,[6] quum compluribus aliis de causis, tum maxime, quod qui virtute belli omnibus gentibus praeferebantur, tantum se ejus opinionis deperdidisse,[7] ut a populo Romano imperia perferrent, gravissime dolebant.

55. Treviri vero atque Indutiomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus intermiserunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent,

[1] *Armorica* comprised several tribes, and apparently those which inhabited the marshy and fertile districts near the sea, between the rivers Seine and Loire.

[2] That is, 'at the time of Caesar's arrival in Gaul;' supply 'had been king.'

[3] *Satisfacere* here signifies 'to apologise.'

[4] *Princeps belli inferendi* is the person who first stirs up a war.

[5] *Attulit;* the subject of this verb, as of the preceding *valuit*, is the clause *esse repertos aliquos principes belli inferendi.*

[6] That is, 'and I am even inclined to wonder at this.' The whole expression is a rhetorical one, stating in a doubtful manner that of which a person is perfectly convinced.

[7] The infinitive *deperdidisse* depends upon *dolebant;* and *ejus opinionis* must be explained by *se virtute belli praeferri.*

civitates sollicitarent, pecunias pollicerentur, magna parte exercitus nostri interfecta, multo minorem superesse dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum persuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum transiret, quum se bis expertos dicerent, Ariovisti bello[1] et Tencterorum transitu,[2] non esse amplius fortunam tentandam. Hac spe lapsus[3] Indutiomarus, nihilo minus copias cogere, exercere, a finitimis equos parare, exsules damnatosque tota Gallia[4] magnis praemiis ad se allicere coepit. Ac tantam sibi jam iis rebus in Gallia auctoritatem comparaverat, ut undique ad eum legationes concurrerent, gratiam atque amicitiam publice privatimque peterent.

56. Ubi intellexit ultro ad se veniri, altera ex parte Senones Carnutesque conscientia facinoris instigari, altera Nervios Aduatucosque bellum Romanis parare, neque sibi voluntariorum copias defore, si ex finibus suis progredi coepisset: armatum concilium indicit, (hoc more Gallorum est initium belli) quo lege communi omnes puberes armati convenire consuerunt; qui ex iis novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis omnibus cruciatibus adfectus necatur. In eo concilio Cingetorigem, alterius principem factionis, generum suum, (quem supra demonstravimus, Caesaris secutum fidem, ab eo non discessisse[5]) hostem judicat bonaque ejus publicat. His rebus confectis, in concilio pronunciat, arcessitum se a Senonibus et Carnutibus aliisque compluribus Galliae civitatibus, huc[6] iter facturum per fines Remorum, eorumque agros populaturum ac prius, quam id faciat, Labieni castra oppugnaturum: quae fieri velit, praecipit.

57. Labienus, quum et loci natura et manu munitissimis castris sese teneret, de suo ac legionis periculo nihil timebat; ne quam occasionem rei bene gerendae dimitteret, cogitabat. Itaque a Cingetorige atque ejus propinquis oratione Indutiomari cognita, quam in concilio habuerat, nuncios mittit ad finitimas civitates equitesque undique evocat: iis certum diem conveniendi dicit. Interim prope quotidie cum omni equitatu Indutiomarus sub castris[7] ejus vagabatur, alias ut

[1] See i. 31, &c. [2] See iv. 1, &c.

[3] *Lapsus* here is equivalent to 'disappointed.'

[4] That is, *in tota Gallia*, or *per totam galliam.*

[5] See v. 3.

[6] *Huc;* that is, into the country of the Senones and Carnutes.

[7] *Sub castris* is 'below the camp,' or 'close to the camp.'

situm castrorum cognosceret, alias[1] colloquendi aut territandi causa: equites plerumque omnes tela intra vallum conjiciebant. Labienus suos intra munitiones continebat timorisque opinionem,[2] quibuscumque poterat rebus, augebat.

58. Quum majore in dies contemtione Indutiomarus ad castra accederet, nocte una, intromissis equitibus omnium finitimarum civitatum, quos arcessendos curaverat, tanta diligentia omnes suos custodiis intra castra continuit, ut nulla ratione ea res enunciari aut ad Treviros perferri posset. Interim ex consuetudine quotidiana Indutiomarus ad castra accedit atque ibi magnam partem diei consumit; equites tela conjiciunt et magna cum contumelia verborum nostros ad pugnam evocant. Nullo ab nostris dato responso, ubi visum est,[3] sub vesperum dispersi ac dissipati discedunt. Subito Labienus duabus portis omnem equitatum emittit; praecipit atque interdicit,[4] proterritis hostibus atque in fugam conjectis, (quod fore, sicut accidit, videbat) unum omnes petant Indutiomarum; neu quis quem prius vulneret, quam illum interfectum viderit, quod mora reliquorum spatium nactum illum effugere nolebat: magna proponit iis, qui occiderint, praemia: submittit cohortes equitibus subsidio. Comprobat hominis[5] consilium fortuna, et quum unum omnes peterent, in ipso fluminis[6] vado deprehensus Indutiomarus interficitur, caputque ejus refertur in castra: redeuntes equites, quos possunt, consectantur atque occidunt. Hac re cognita, omnes Eburonum et Nerviorum, quae convenerant, copiae discedunt; paulloque habuit post id factum Caesar quietiorem Galliam.

[1] *Alias—alias;* that is, 'sometimes'—'sometimes.' The word *alias* seems to be a contraction for *aliais;* that is, *aliis*, and to be equivalent to *alio tempore*, or *alio loco.*

[2] Namely, which he wished the barbarians to entertain of him.

[3] *Ubi visum est;* that is, 'when it appeared to them to be time.'

[4] Respecting the combination of *praecipit*, which expresses a positive command, and *interdicit*, which implies a negative one, see v. 22, note 4. Before the verb *petant*, supply *ut*, it belonging to *praecipit*, whereas the following *neu* refers to *interdicit.*

[5] *Hominis;* that is, *Labieni:* 'fortune favoured the man's plan.'

[6] The river here mentioned is the Mosa (Meuse), which flowed between the territories of the Remi and Treviri.

LIBER VI.

Multis de causis Caesar majorem Galliae motum exspectans, per M. Silanum, C. Antistium Reginum, T. Sextium, legatos, dilectum habere instituit: simul ab Cn. Pompeio proconsule petit, quoniam ipse ad urbem[1] cum imperio reipublicae[2] causa remaneret, quos ex Cisalpina Gallia consulis sacramento[3] rogavisset, ad signa convenire et ad se proficisci juberet: magni interesse etiam in reliquum tempus ad opinionem[4] Galliae existimans, tantas videri Italiae facultates, ut, si quid esset in bello detrimenti acceptum, non modo id brevi tempore sarciri, sed etiam majoribus adaugeri copiis posset. Quod quum Pompeius et reipublicae et amicitiae tribuisset,[5] celeriter confecto per suos dilectu, tribus ante exactam hiemem et constitutis et adductis legionibus, duplicatoque earum cohortium numero, quas cum Q. Titurio amiserat, et celeritate et copiis docuit, quid populi Romani disciplina atque opes possent.

2. Interfecto Indutiomaro, ut docuimus, ad ejus propinquos a Treviris imperium defertur. Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare et pecuniam polliceri non desistunt: quum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores tentant. Inventis nonnullis civitatibus, jurejurando inter se confirmant[6] obsidibusque de pecunia cavent:[7] Ambiorigem sibi societate et foedere

[1] *Ad urbem;* supply *Romam,* 'in the neighbourhood of Rome.'

[2] After his consulship, Pompey ought to have gone to Spain, which had been assigned to him as his province for five years. But he allowed his legates to undertake the command in Spain, and remained in the neighbourhood of Rome, for the ostensible purpose of seeing that Rome should be provided with supplies of grain.

[3] *Sacramentum consulis* is the oath by which the soldiers swear allegiance and obedience to the consul. *Rogare* is the technical term for calling on a soldier to take the oath, hence it is here equivalent to 'to bind by an oath.'

[4] *Ad opinionem,* 'in reference to the opinion which Gaul entertained,' &c.

[5] *Tribuere aliquid alicui* frequently signifies, 'to do a thing for the sake of,' or 'to please and oblige a person.'

[6] Supply *se,* or *animos suos.*

[7] That is, 'and by hostages they took precaution to secure the sum of money which each state was to contribute.'

adjungunt. Quibus rebus cognitis, Caesar, quum undique bellum parari videret, Nervios, Aduatucos, Menapios, adjunctis cisrhenanis omnibus Germanis, esse in armis, Senones ad imperatum non venire et cum Carnutibus finitimisque civitatibus consilia communicare, a Treviris Germanos crebris legationibus sollicitari; maturius sibi de bello cogitandum putavit.

3. Itaque nondum hieme confecta, proximis quatuor coactis legionibus, de improviso in fines Nerviorum contendit, et prius quam illi aut convenire aut profugere possent, magno pecoris atque hominum numero capto atque ea praeda militibus concessa vastatisque agris, in deditionem venire atque obsides sibi dare coegit. Eo celeriter confecto negotio, rursus in hiberna legiones reduxit. Concilio Galliae primo vere, uti instituerat, indicto, quum reliqui praeter Senones, Carnutes Trevirosque venissent, initium belli ac defectionis hoc esse arbitratus, ut omnia postponere videretur, concilium Lutetiam Parisiorum[1] transfert. Confines erant hi Senonibus civitatemque patrum memoria conjunxerant;[2] sed ab hoc consilio[3] abfuisse existimabantur. Hac re pro suggestu pronunciata, eodem die cum legionibus in Senones proficiscitur magnisque itineribus eo pervenit.

4. Cognito ejus adventu, Acco, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, jubet in oppida multitudinem convenire; conantibus,[4] prius quam id effici posset, adesse Romanos nunciatur; necessario sententia desistunt legatosque deprecandi causa ad Caesarem mittunt; adeunt per Aeduos,[5] quorum antiquitus erat in fide civitas. Libenter Caesar petentibus Aeduis[6] dat veniam excusationemque accipit; quod aestivum tempus instantis belli, non quaestionis esse arbitrabatur. Obsidibus imperatis centum, hos[7] Aeduis custodiendos tradit. Eodem

[1] *Lutetia Parisiorum* is the modern city of Paris. It was at that time a small town, situated on an island in the river Seine, and did not acquire any great importance until the time of the Frankish kings.

[2] They, the Parisii, had united their state with that of the Senones.

[3] *Consilium* here is the plot or conspiracy formed among some Gallic tribes against the Romans.

[4] *Conantibus*; supply *convenire*.

[5] That is, the Aedui were prevailed upon to interfere on their behalf with Caesar.

[6] *Petentibus Aeduis* is the ablative absolute, expressing cause, and not the dative.

[7] See iii. 14, note 7.

Carnutes legatos obsidesque mittunt, usi deprecatoribus Remis, quorum erant in clientela: eadem ferunt responsa. Peragit concilium Caesar equitesque imperat civitatibus.

5. Hac parte Galliae pacata, totus et mente et animo[1] in bellum Trevirorum et Ambiorigis insistit. Cavarinum[2] cum equitatu Senonum secum proficisci jubet, ne quis aut ex hujus iracundia aut ex eo, quod meruerat, odio civitatis motus exsistat. His rebus constitutis, quod pro explorato habebat,[3] Ambiorigem proelio non esse concertaturum, reliqua ejus consilia animo circumspiciebat. Erant Menapii propinqui Eburonum finibus, perpetuis paludibus silvisque muniti, qui uni ex Gallia de pace ad Caesarem legatos numquam miserant. Cum iis esse hospitium Ambiorigi sciebat: item per Treviros venisse Germanis in amicitiam cognoverat. Haec prius illi detrahenda auxilia existimabat, quam ipsum bello lacesseret; ne desperata salute aut se in Menapios abderet, aut cum transrhenanis congredi[4] cogeretur. Hoc inito consilio, totius exercitus impedimenta ad Labienum in Treviros mittit, duasque legiones ad eum proficisci jubet: ipse cum legionibus expeditis quinque in Menapios proficiscitur. Illi, nulla coacta manu, loci praesidio freti, in silvas paludesque confugiunt suaque eodem conferunt.

6. Caesar, partitis copiis cum C. Fabio legato et M. Crasso quaestore, celeriterque effectis pontibus, adit[5] tripartito, aedificia vicosque incendit, magno pecoris atque hominum numero potitur. Quibus rebus coacti Menapii, legatos ad eum pacis petendae causa mittunt. Ille, obsidibus acceptis, hostium se habiturum numero confirmat, si aut Ambiorigem, aut ejus legatos finibus suis recepissent. His confirmatis[6] rebus, Commium Atrebatem cum equitatu custodis loco in Menapiis relinquit; ipse in Treviros proficiscitur.

7. Dum haec a Caesare geruntur, Treviri, magnis coactis peditatus equitatusque copiis, Labienum cum una legione, quae in eorum finibus hiemabat, adoriri parabant: jamque

[1] See iii. 19, note 3.

[2] See v. 54.

[3] *Pro explorato aliquid habere*, 'to believe a thing to be certain.'

[4] *Congredi* does not here signify 'to fight,' but 'to join,' or 'form an alliance with.'

[5] Supply *Menapios*.

[6] *Confirmatis;* that is, *constitutis*.

ab eo non longius bidui via aberant, quum duas venisse legiones missu Caesaris cognoscunt. Positis castris a milibus passuum xv., auxilia Germanorum exspectare constituunt. Labienus, hostium cognito consilio, sperans temeritate eorum fore aliquam dimicandi facultatem, praesidio cohortium quinque impedimentis relicto, cum xxv. cohortibus magnoque equitatu contra hostem proficiscitur, et M. passuum intermisso spatio, castra communit. Erat inter Labienum atque hostem difficili transitu flumen[1] ripisque praeruptis: hoc neque ipse transire in animo habebat, neque hostes transituros existimabat. Augebatur auxiliorum quotidie spes. Loquitur in consilio palam, quoniam Germani appropinquare dicantur, sese suas exercitusque fortunas in dubium[2] non devocaturum et postero die prima luce castra moturum. Celeriter haec ad hostes deferuntur, ut ex magno Gallorum equitatus numero nonnullos Gallicis rebus favere natura[3] cogebat. Labienus noctu, tribunis militum primisque ordinibus coactis, quid sui sit consilii proponit, et quo facilius hostibus timoris det suspicionem, majore strepitu et tumultu, quam populi Romani fert consuetudo, castra moveri jubet. His rebus fugae similem profectionem efficit. Haec quoque per exploratores ante lucem, in[4] tanta propinquitate castrorum, ad hostes deferuntur.

8. Vix agmen novissimum extra munitiones processerat, quum Galli, cohortati inter se, ne speratam praedam ex manibus dimitterent; longum[5] esse, perterritis Romanis, Germanorum auxilium exspectare; neque suam pati dignitatem, ut tantis copiis tam exiguam manum, praesertim fugientem atque impeditam, adoriri non audeant; flumen transire et iniquo loco proelium committere non dubitant. Quae fore

[1] The river which Caesar here mentions must have been the Moselle (Mosella), a river which Caesar does not anywhere designate by its real name.

[2] *In dubium devocare*, 'to stake,' or 'to risk.'

[3] *Natura* here is, 'the love of country which is implanted in our nature,' and which some of the Gallic horsemen who served in the Roman army could not resist.

[4] The preposition here contains the idea of cause: 'considering that,' or 'because the camps were so near each other.'

[5] *Longum esse;* this positive has the meaning of a comparative; as is often the case, especially with adjectives denoting size or space, such as *longus*, *multus*, *exiguus*. Render, 'it would be too long.'

suspicatus Labienus, ut omnes citra flumen eliceret, eadem usus simulatione itineris, placide[1] progrediebatur. Tum, praemissis paullum impedimentis atque in tumulo quodam collocatis, Habetis, inquit, milites, quam petistis facultatem: hostem impedito atque iniquo loco tenetis: praestate eamdem nobis ducibus virtutem, quam saepenumero imperatori praestitistis: adesse eum et haec coram cernere existimate. Simul signa ad hostem converti aciemque dirigi jubet, et paucis turmis praesidio ad impedimenta dimissis, reliquos equites ad latera disponit. Celeriter nostri clamore sublato pila in hostes immittunt. Illi ubi praeter spem, quos fugere credebant, infestis signis ad se ire viderunt, impetum modo[2] ferre non potuerunt, ac primo concursu in fugam conjecti, proximas silvas petiverunt: quos Labienus equitatu consectatus, magno numero interfecto, compluribus captis, paucis post diebus civitatem[3] recepit: nam Germani, qui auxilio veniebant, percepta Trevirorum fuga, sese domum contulerunt. Cum iis propinqui Indutiomari, qui defectionis auctores fuerant, comitati eos, ex civitate excessere. Cingetorigi, quem ab initio permansisse in officio demonstravimus, principatus[4] atque imperium est traditum.

9. Caesar postquam ex Menapiis in Treviros venit, duabus de causis Rhenum transire constituit: quarum erat altera, quod auxilia contra se Treviris miserant; altera, ne Ambiorix ad eos receptum haberet. His constitutis rebus, paullum supra eum locum, quo ante exercitum transduxerat,[5] facere pontem instituit. Nota atque instituta ratione,[6] magno militum studio, paucis diebus opus efficitur. Firmo in Treviris praesidio ad pontem relicto, ne quis ab iis subito motus oriretur, reliquas copias equitatumque transducit. Ubii, qui ante obsides dederant atque in deditionem venerant, purgandi

[1] *Placide*, 'quietly,' or 'leisurely.'

[2] *Modo;* that is, 'in a measure,' or 'only just,' so that it is almost equivalent to *vix*, 'scarcely.'

[3] *Civitatem* is only an explanation of the preceding *quos*, indicating that by *quos* the whole state is meant. The verb *recipere* denotes the recovery or reduction of a nation which had before revolted.

[4] *Principatus* is the kingly or princely dignity, whereas *imperium* is the military power connected with it.

[5] See iv. 17.

[6] That is, as the manner of making a bridge was known, and had been tried.

sui causa ad eum legatos mittunt, qui doceant neque ex sua civitate auxilia in Treviros missa, neque ab se fidem laesam: petunt atque orant, ut sibi parcat, ne communi odio[1] Germanorum innocentes pro nocentibus poenas pendant: si amplius[2] obsidum velit, dare pollicentur. Cognita Caesar causa reperit, ab Suevis auxilia missa esse, Ubiorum satisfactionem accepit, aditus viasque in Suevos perquirit.

10. Interim paucis post diebus fit ab Ubiis certior, Suevos omnes unum in locum copias cogere atque iis nationibus, quae sub eorum sint imperio, denunciare, uti auxilia peditatus equitatusque mittant. His cognitis rebus, rem frumentariam providet, castris idoneum locum deligit, Ubiis imperat, ut pecora deducant suaque omnia ex agris in oppida conferant, sperans barbaros atque imperitos homines, inopia cibariorum adductos, ad iniquam pugnandi conditionem posse deduci: mandat, ut crebros exploratores in Suevos mittant, quaeque apud eos gerantur, cognoscant. Illi imperata faciunt et paucis diebus intermissis referunt, Suevos omnes, posteaquam certiores nuncii de exercitu Romanorum venerint, cum omnibus suis sociorumque copiis, quas coegissent, penitus[3] ad extremos fines sese recepisse: silvam esse ibi infinita magnitudine, quae appellatur Bacenis,[4] hanc longe introrsus pertinere, et pro nativo[5] muro objectam, Cheruscos ab Suevis, Suevosque ab Cheruscis, injuriis incursionibusque prohibere:[6] ad ejus initium silvae Suevos adventum Romanorum exspectare constituisse.

11. Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germaniaeque moribus et quo differant hae nationes inter sese, proponere. In Gallia non

[1] *Communi odio;* the ablative here is equivalent to *propter commune odium.*

[2] *Amplius* is 'still more;' that is, 'more, in addition to those who were already with Caesar.'

[3] *Penitus,* deep into the interior of the country.

[4] This clause is no part of the report of the Ubii, but a statement of Caesar himself; hence the indicative *appellatur.* The forest Bacenis is commonly believed to have been a part of the Hercynian forest, and especially that part which is now called the Thüringer Wald.

[5] *Nativus* is what we call 'natural,' or 'made by nature herself.'

[6] *Prohibere* has here a twofold meaning; namely, 'to separate,' and 'to prevent from.' In the first sense, it must be taken in connection with *Cheruscos a Suevis, Suevosque ab Cheruscis;* and in the latter, in connection with *injuriis incursionibusque.*

solum in omnibus civitatibus atque in omnibus pagis partibusque,[1] sed paene etiam in singulis domibus factiones sunt: earumque factionum principes sunt, qui summam auctoritatem eorum judicio habere existimantur, quorum[2] ad arbitrium judiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat. Idque ejus rei causa antiquitus institutum videtur, ne quis ex plebe contra potentiorem auxilii egeret: suos enim quisque opprimi et circumveniri non patitur, neque, aliter si faciant, ullam inter suos habent auctoritatem. Haec eadem ratio est in summa totius Galliae:[3] namque omnes civitates in partes divisae sunt duas.

12. Quum Caesar in Galliam venit, alterius factionis principes erant Aedui, alterius Sequani.[4] Hi quum per se minus valerent, quod summa auctoritas antiquitus erat in Aeduis magnaeque eorum erant clientelae, Germanos atque Ariovistum sibi adjunxerant eosque ad se magnis jacturis[5] pollicitationibusque perduxerant. Proeliis vero compluribus factis secundis atque omni nobilitate Aeduorum interfecta, tantum potentia antecesserant, ut magnam partem clientium ab Aeduis ad se transducerent obsidesque ab iis principum filios acciperent et publice jurare cogerent, nihil se contra Sequanos consilii inituros; et partem finitimi agri per vim occupatam possiderent Galliaeque totius principatum obtinerent. Qua necessitate adductus Divitiacus, auxilii petendi causa Romam ad senatum profectus, infecta re redierat. Adventu[6] Caesaris facta commutatione rerum, obsidibus Aeduis redditis, veteribus clientelis restitutis, novis per Caesarem comparatis, (quod hi, qui se ad eorum amicitiam aggregaverant, meliore conditione atque aequiore imperio se uti videbant) reliquis rebus eorum, gratia, dignitate amplificata,[7] Sequani principatum

[1] The *partes* must be taken as subdivisions of the *pagi*.

[2] *Quorum* contains the idea of *quum*, denoting cause, whence the subjunctive *redeat*.

[3] That is, in the constitution of all Gaul, considering it as one great state, or as a union of states.

[4] See i. 31.

[5] *Jacturae* has almost the meaning of 'presents,' for it denotes a loss which a person is obliged to sustain for the purpose of securing an advantage.

[6] *Adventu;* that is, 'at the time of the arrival.'

[7] *Amplificata* is here made to agree only with *dignitate*, though, strictly speaking, it ought to agree with *reliquis rebus*, of which *gratia* and *dignitate* are only explanations.

dimiserant. In eorum locum Remi successerant; quos quod adaequare[1] apud Caesarem gratia intelligebatur, ii, qui propter veteres inimicitias nullo modo cum Aeduis conjungi poterant, se Remis in clientelam dicabant. Hos illi diligenter tuebantur. Ita et novam et repente collectam auctoritatem tenebant. Eo tum statu res erat, ut longe principes[2] haberentur Aedui, secundum locum dignitatis Remi obtinerent.

13. In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero[3] atque honore, genera sunt duo; nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae per se nihil audet et nullo[4] adhibetur consilio. Plerique,[5] quum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut injuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant nobilibus: in hos eadem omnia sunt jura, quae dominis in servos. Sed[6] de his duobus generibus alterum est Druidum, alterum equitum. Illi rebus divinis intersunt,[7] sacrificia publica ac privata procurant, religiones[8] interpretantur. Ad hos magnus adolescentium numerus disciplinae causa concurrit, magnoque ii sunt apud eos honore. Nam fere[9] de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et si quod est admissum facinus, si caedes facta, si de haereditate, si de finibus controversia est, iidem decer-

[1] *Adaequare;* that is, *Remos aeque ac Aeduos in gratia esse.*

[2] The *Aedui* were the first in regard to their power and resources, but in the favour of Caesar they were only equal to the Remi.

[3] *Numerus* here designates generally anything that is counted or taken into consideration; hence render: 'those men who are counted at all, are divided into two classes.'

[4] *Nullo consilio* is the dative, *nullo* being an ancient form for *nulli.* Compare v. 27, note 4.

[5] That is, 'most of the plebs,' which is not counted as one of the two classes of which the people of Gaul are said to consist.

[6] By *sed* Caesar returns to what he commenced saying at the beginning of the chapter, which has been interrupted by the brief digression about the Gallic plebs.

[7] *Intersunt* does not mean that the Druids alone were present, and that others were excluded from religious ceremonies; but *interesse* here indicates their active presence, as the Druids themselves had to perform the religious ceremonies; see chap. 16. Compare vii. 87: *proelio interesse.*

[8] The plural *religiones* denotes not only the doctrines of a religion, but all the phenomena connected with religion, such as omens, prodigies, and all kinds of signs.

[9] *Fere* here does not qualify the word *omnibus*, but belongs to the verb, and therefore qualifies the whole clause.

nunt; praemia poenasque constituunt: si qui[1] aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Haec poena apud eos est gravissima. Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum ac sceleratorum habentur: iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum sermonemque defugiunt,[2] ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant: neque iis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur. His autem omnibus Druidibus praeest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Hoc mortuo, si qui ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at, si sunt plures pares, suffragio Druidum allegitur,[3] nonnumquam etiam armis de principatu contendunt. Hi certo anni tempore in finibus Carnutum, quae regio totius Galliae media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt eorumque decretis judiciisque parent. Disciplina[4] in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur: et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo[5] discendi causa proficiscuntur.

14. Druides a bello abesse consuerunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiae vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Tantis excitati praemiis, et sua sponte multi in disciplinam[6] conveniunt, et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur: itaque annos nonnulli vicenos in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea[7] litteris mandare, quum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus,[8] Graecis utantur litteris. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur; quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint, neque eos, qui discant,

[1] *Si qui* is the same as *siquis*, except that the former is more concrete and definite than the latter.

[2] *Defugiunt*, 'they go out of their way.'

[3] *Alligere* is properly said of a body of men who elect a person a member of their body; but here it signifies to elect an individual president of the body to which he belongs.

[4] *Disciplina* is here 'the knowledge,' or 'the wisdom and system of the Druids.' The verb *reperio* is 'to devise,' whereas *invenire* would be 'to invent,' which may be the result of chance, an idea which is foreign to *reperire*.

[5] *Illo;* that is, *in Britanniam*.

[6] *Disciplina* in this instance is the instruction in the wisdom of the Druids, or the place where such instruction is given.

[7] *Ea;* that is, the subjects of those verses.

[8] *Rationes* here is not 'accounts,' as in i. 29, but 'affairs' generally.

literis confisos, minus memoriae studere; quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant. In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios: atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari[1] putant, metu mortis neglecto. Multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et juventuti tradunt.

15. Alterum genus est equitum. Hi, quum est usus, atque aliquod bellum incidit, (quod ante Caesaris adventum fere quotannis accidere solebat, uti aut ipsi injurias inferrent, aut illatas propulsarent) omnes in bello versantur: atque eorum ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se ambactos[2] clientesque habent. Hanc unam gratiam potentiamque noverunt.

16. Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus; atque ob eam causam, qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis quique in proeliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturos vovent, administrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur; quod, pro vita hominis nisi hominis vita reddatur, non posse aliter deorum immortalium numen placari arbitrantur: publiceque ejusdem generis habent instituta sacrificia. Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flamma exanimantur homines. Supplicia eorum, qui in furto aut in latrocinio aut aliqua noxa[3] sint comprehensi, gratiora diis immortalibus esse arbitrantur: sed, quum ejus generis copia deficit, etiam ad innocentium supplicia descendunt.

17. Deum maxime Mercurium[4] colunt: hujus sunt plu-

[1] Supply *homines*, for *hoc* is the ablative of cause, which is more explicitly explained by *metu mortis sublato.*

[2] *Ambacti* is probably not a Latin word, but a Gallic or Celtic word (*andbaht;* that is, minister), which denotes persons who attend upon the nobles; and it is not impossible that Caesar may mean to explain the word by *clientes*, the *que* often serving to join an explanation to some preceding word.

[3] *Noxa* is any evil deed, by which injury is done to another person.

[4] *Mercurium.* This cannot have been the Mercury of the Romans; and it must be borne in mind that both Greeks and Romans, when they became acquainted with a new divinity in a foreign country, forth-

rima simulacra, hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc viarum atque itinerum ducem, hunc ad quaestus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur. Post hunc, Apollinem et Martem et Jovem et Minervam: de his eamdem fere quam reliquae gentes habent opinionem; Apollinem morbos depellere, Minervam operum atque artificiorum initia tradere; Jovem imperium coelestium tenere; Martem bella regere. Huic, quum proelio dimicare constituerunt, ea, quae bello ceperint, plerumque devovent. Quae[1] superaverint, animalia capta immolant; reliquas res in unum locum conferunt. Multis in civitatibus harum rerum exstructos tumulos locis consecratis conspicari licet: neque saepe accidit, ut neglecta quispiam religione aut capta apud se occultare, aut posita tollere auderet; gravissimumque ei rei supplicium cum cruciatu constitutum est.

18. Galli se omnes ab Dite[2] patre prognatos praedicant, idque ab Druidibus proditum dicunt. Ob eam causam spatia omnis temporis non numero dierum, sed noctium finiunt;[3] dies natales et mensium et annorum initia sic observant, ut noctem dies subsequatur.[4] In reliquis vitae institutis hoc fere ab reliquis differunt, quod suos liberos, nisi quum adoleverint, ut munus militiae sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili aetate in publico, in conspectu patris adsistere turpe ducunt.

19. Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis, aestimatione facta, cum dotibus communicant. Hujus omnis pecuniae conjunctim ratio

with identified it with the one among their own gods with whom he seemed to have any resemblance. The Mercury in this place is probably the Odin or Wodan of the northern nations, Apollo the god Belenus, Mars the god Thor, Jupiter the Gallic god Taran or Taranin, and Minerva is perhaps the goddess of the moon.

[1] *Quae* here has a general meaning, comprising both *animalia* and *reliquae res*. The meaning is: 'Whatever they conquer, they treat in either of two ways: if the booty consists of animals, they sacrifice them; and if of any other things, they collect them in one place.'

[2] *Dis* is the god of the lower world, commonly called Pluto; and if a people called itself the descendants of Pluto, they thereby meant to describe themselves as aborigines or autochthons; that is, as having sprung from the earth itself.

[3] *Finiunt;* that is, *definiunt*, 'they define.'

[4] That is, they began their calculations with the night, instead of with the day.

habetur[1] fructusque servantur: uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicut in liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem: et quum pater familiae, illustriore loco natus, decessit, ejus propinqui conveniunt, et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent, et si compertum est,[2] igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu[3] Gallorum magnifica et sumtuosa; omniaque, quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia: ac paullo supra hanc memoriam[4] servi et clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, justis[5] funeribus confectis, una cremabantur.

20. Quae civitates commodius[6] suam rem publicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat, neve cum quo alio communicet: quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli, et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. Magistratus, quae visa sunt, occultant; quaeque esse ex usu judicaverint, multitudini produnt. De re publica nisi per[7] concilium loqui non conceditur.

21. Germani multum ab hac consuetudine differunt: nam neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis praesint, neque sacrificiis student.[8] Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum[9] et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt.[10] Vita omnis in venationibus atque in studiis rei militaris consistit:

[1] *Rationem habere*, 'to calculate' or 'reckon;' *fructus* is 'interest.'

[2] Supply, 'that which was suspected;' namely, that the wife had caused the death of her husband.

[3] 'Considering the manner in which the Gauls live.'

[4] That is, 'not long before the time of which we have any recollection.'

[5] *Justa funera* are those funeral rites which, by the laws of religion, they were obliged to perform.

[6] *Commodius;* that is, 'better,' or 'more regularly;' namely, than others.

[7] *Per* here designates both the manner and way in which, and the time at which, anything is done.

[8] *Neque student sacrificiis*, 'nor are they much given to sacrifices;' *studere* signifying, 'to pursue a thing with zeal.'

[9] *Vulcanus* is the personification of fire.

[10] 'The other gods they do not know even from hearsay.'

ab parvulis labori ac duritiae student. Qui diutissime impuberes[1] permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali hoc vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum[2] feminae notitiam habuisse, in turpissimis habent rebus: cujus rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue[3] in fluminibus perluuntur, et pellibus aut parvis rhenonum[4] tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.

22. Agriculturae non student; majorque pars victus eorum in lacte, caseo, carne consistit: neque quisquam agri modum certum aut fines habet proprios, sed magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus[5] cognationibusque hominum, qui una coierint, quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio[6] transire cogunt. Ejus rei multas adferunt causas: ne assidua consuetudine capti, studium belli gerundi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare studeant potentioresque humiliores possessionibus expellant; ne accuratius ad frigora atque aestus vitandos aedificent; ne qua oriatur pecuniae cupiditas, qua ex re factiones dissensionesque nascuntur: ut animi aequitate plebem contineant, quum suas quisque opes cum potentissimis[7] aequari videat.

23. Civitatibus maxima laus est quam latissimas circum se vastatis finibus solitudines habere.[8] Hoc[9] proprium virtutis existimant, expulsos agris finitimos cedere neque quemquam prope audere consistere: simul hoc se fore tutiores arbitran-

[1] *Impuberes* here signifies, 'in an unmarried condition.'

[2] That is, 'before the twentieth year.'

[3] *Promiscue;* that is, 'without any distinction of sex or age.'

[4] *Rhenones* are said by some to have been a peculiar kind of dress, covering the shoulders and breast down to the stomach, while others believe them to be the name of the reindeer, and *tegimenta rhenonum* the skins of those animals. The latter seems to be more probable, and the meaning therefore is: 'they cover their bodies either with the entire skin of the reindeer, or with a sort of apron (*parvis tegimentis*) made of the same material.'

[5] *Gentes* in this place seems to be used in the Roman sense, denoting a clan or complex of families; and *cognationes* accordingly are the individual families contained in a gens.

[6] *Alio;* that is, *in alium locum.*

[7] That is, *cum opibus potentissimorum.* *Aequari*, 'to be made' or 'esteemed equal,' is more commonly construed with the dative or accusative than with *cum.* See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.*, § 389, note 2.

[8] Compare vi. 1.

[9] *Hoc* points to the following infinitives, *cedere* and *consistere*, which are, in fact, only explanations of *hoc.* *Proprium* is 'a peculiar sign' or 'indication.'

tur, repentinae incursionis timore sublato. Quum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt controversiasque minuunt.[1] Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cujusque civitatis fiunt; atque ea juventutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant. Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio dixit se ducem fore, qui sequi velint, profiteantur; consurgunt ii, qui et causam et hominem probant, suumque auxilium pollicentur atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis secuti non sunt, in desertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur omniumque iis rerum postea fides derogatur. Hospites violare fas non putant; qui quaque de causa ad eos venerint, ab injuria prohibent sanctosque[2] habent; iis omnium domus patent, victusque communicatur.

24. Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quae fertilissima sunt, Germaniae loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni[3] et quibusdam Graecis fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam appellant) Volcae Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt. Quae gens ad hoc tempus iis sedibus sese continet summamque habet justitiae et bellicae laudis opinionem:[4] nunc quoque in eadem inopia, egestate, patientia[5] qua Germani, permanent, eodem victu et cultu corporis utuntur; Gallis autem provinciae propinquitas et transmarinarum rerum notitia multa ad copiam atque usus largitur. Paullatim adsuefacti superari, multisque victi proeliis, ne se quidem ipsi cum illis virtute comparant.

[1] *Minuunt*, 'they diminish the number of lawsuits;' namely, by bringing about amicable arrangements between the disputants.

[2] *Sanctus* is 'inviolable,' and is said of men and things that are under the especial protection of the gods.

[3] *Eratosthenes* of Cyrene was one of the most learned men and greatest geographers of antiquity; he was born in B.C. 276, and died in B.C. 192, having been librarian of king Ptolemy Euergetes at Alexandria in Egypt.

[4] *Opinio* here is 'reputation,' which consists in the opinion which people entertain of them.

[5] *Patientia* is the 'patient and voluntary endurance of hardships.'

25. Hujus Hercyniae silvae, quae supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet: non enim aliter finiri[1] potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque fluminis Danubii regione[2] pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium; hinc se flectit sinistrorsus,[3] diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem attingit: neque quisquam est hujus Germaniae,[4] qui se aut adisse ad initium[5] ejus silvae dicat, quum[6] dierum iter LX. processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur, acceperit. Multa in ea genera ferarum nasci constat, quae reliquis in locis visa non sint: ex quibus quae maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriae prodenda videantur, haec sunt.

26. Est bos[7] cervi figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu exsistit, excelsius magisque directum his, quae nobis nota sunt, cornibus. Ab ejus summo, sicut palmae,[8] rami quam[9] late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminae marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27. Sunt item, quae appellantur alces.[10] Harum est consimilis capreis figura et varietas[11] pellium; sed magnitudine paullo antecedunt mutilaeque[12] sunt cornibus, et crura sine

[1] *Finiunt*; see vi. 18, note 3.

[2] *Recta regione;* that is, 'in a straight line along the banks of the Danube;' for *regio* (from *regere*) often signifies the line or direction which a thing takes, as in *diversis regionibus* below. Compare vii. 46.

[3] Namely, if we look eastward; so that *sinistrorsus* here means northward.

[4] *Hujus Germaniae;* that is, of western Germany, in which Caesar himself was.

[5] *Initium* is here what we should call the end; namely, the point in the east at which the forest commences.

[6] *Quum* in this place signifies 'although:' 'although he might have advanced eastward a distance of sixty days' journey.'

[7] The animal here described is the reindeer. It seems evident, however, that Caesar himself never saw the animal, otherwise he could not have described it as having one horn in the centre of its forehead.

[8] *Palma* is a shovel, or the flat part of an oar.

[9] *Quam* is commonly used with superlatives, to strengthen their meaning; but it also occurs with the positive, where its meaning is likewise strengthening. Compare Livy, xxxv. 15.

[10] *Alces* are elks; but it must be observed here also that Caesar's description is imperfect, from his not having seen the animals.

[11] *Varietas* refers to the colour, which in those animals varies according to the different seasons of the year.

[12] *Mutilus* is that of which some part is wanting; and Caesar seems to say that the horns looked as if a part had been broken off.

nodis articulisque habent: neque quietis causa procumbunt, neque, si quo afflictae casu conciderint, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus: ad eas se applicant, atque ita, paullum modo reclinatae, quietem capiunt: quarum ex vestigiis quum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt, aut accidunt arbores tantum, ut summa species[1] earum stantium relinquatur. Huc quum se consuetudine reclinaverint, infirmas arbores pondere affligunt atque una ipsae concidunt.

28. Tertium est genus eorum, qui uri[2] appellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paullo infra elephantos; specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum et magna velocitas: neque homini, neque ferae, quam conspexerint, parcunt. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant homines adolescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent; et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quae sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad homines et mansuefieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt.[3] Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Haec studiose conquisita ab labris[4] argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

29. Caesar, postquam per Ubios exploratores comperit Suevos sese in silvas recepisse, inopiam frumenti veritus, quod, ut supra demonstravimus, minime omnes Germani agriculturae student, constituit non progredi longius; sed, ne omnino metum reditus sui barbaris tolleret, atque ut eorum auxilia tardaret, reducto exercitu, partem ultimam pontis, quae ripas Ubiorum contingebat, in longitudinem pedum CC. rescindit; atque in extremo ponte turrim tabulatorum quatuor constituit praesidiumque cohortium XII. pontis tuendi causa ponit, magnisque eum locum munitionibus firmat. Ei loco praesidioque C. Volcatium Tullum adoles-

[1] *Summa species;* that is, 'the general aspect.'

[2] *Urus* is a German word (the full form is *auer-ochs* or *ur-ochs*), and signifies a 'mountain bull' or 'wild bull.'

[3] Caesar here mentions only the young *uri*, and allows the reader to draw his own conclusions respecting the old ones.

[4] *Ab labris*; that is, where the *labra* (lips) touch them in drinking out of them.

centem praefecit: ipse, quum maturescere frumenta inciperent, ad bellum Ambiorigis profectus, [per Arduennam[1] silvam, quae est totius Galliae maxima atque ab ripis Rheni finibusque Trevirorum ad Nervios pertinet, milibusque amplius quingentis in longitudinem patet] L. Minucium Basilum cum omni equitatu praemittit, si quid celeritate itineris atque opportunitate temporis proficere possit; monet, ut ignes fieri in castris prohibeat, ne qua ejus adventus procul significatio fiat: sese confestim subsequi dicit.

30. Basilus, ut imperatum est, facit; celeriter contraque omnium opinionem confecto itinere, multos in agris inopinantes deprehendit; eorum indicio ad ipsum Ambiorigem contendit, quo in loco cum paucis equitibus esse dicebatur. Multum quum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna. Nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum atque etiam imparatum incideret, priusque ejus adventus ab hominibus videretur, quam fama aut nuncius adferretur: sic magnae fuit fortunae, omni militari instrumento,[2] quod circum se habebat, erepto, rhedis equisque comprehensis, ipsum effugere mortem.[3] Sed hoc eo factum est, quod aedificio circumdato silva, (ut sunt fere domicilia Gallorum, qui vitandi aestus causa, plerumque silvarum ac fluminum petunt propinquitates) comites familiaresque ejus angusto in loco paullisper equitum nostrorum vim sustinuerunt. His pugnantibus, illum in equum quidam ex suis intulit: fugientem silvae texerunt. Sic et ad subeundum[4] periculum et ad vitandum multum fortuna valuit.

31. Ambiorix copias suas judicione non conduxerit, quod proelio dimicandum non existimarit, an tempore exclusus et repentino equitum adventu prohibitus, quum reliquum exercitum subsequi crederet, dubium est: sed certe clam dimissis per agros nunciis, sibi quemque consulere jussit: quorum pars

[1] See v. 3, vi. 33.

[2] *Instrumentum* here, as often, has a collective meaning, denoting all implements of war; so that it is the same as *apparatus militaris*. Compare v. 31, note 2.

[3] *Ipsum effugere mortem;* these words constitute the subject of the clause, and *magnae fortunae fuit* are the predicate: 'the circumstance of his (Ambiorix) escaping alive was a piece of great good luck.'

[4] *Ad subeundum* refers to the Romans under Basilus, who sought the enemy; while *ad vitandum* refers to Ambiorix, who escaped from their unexpected attack.

in Arduennam silvam, pars in continentes paludes profugit; qui proximi Oceanum fuerunt, hi insulis[1] sese occultaverunt, quas aestus efficere consuerunt: multi, ex suis finibus egressi, se suaque omnia alienissimis crediderunt. Cativolcus, rex dimidiae partis Eburonum, qui una cum Ambiorige consilium inierat, aetate jam confectus, quum laborem aut belli aut fugae ferre non posset, omnibus precibus[2] detestatus Ambiorigem, qui ejus consilii auctor fuisset, taxo,[3] cujus magna in Gallia Germaniaque copia est, se exanimavit.

32. Segni Condrusique, ex gente et numero Germanorum, qui sunt inter Eburones Trevirosque, legatos ad Caesarem miserunt oratum, ne se in hostium numero duceret, neve omnium Germanorum, qui essent citra Rhenum, unam esse causam judicaret: nihil[4] se de bello cogitasse, nulla Ambiorigi auxilia misisse. Caesar, explorata re quaestione captivorum,[5] si qui ad eos Eburones ex fuga convenissent, ad se ut reducerentur, imperavit: si ita fecissent, fines eorum se violaturum negavit. Tum copiis in tres partes distributis, impedimenta omnium legionum Aduatucam[6] contulit. Id castelli nomen est. Hoc fere est in mediis Eburonum finibus, ubi Titurius atque Aurunculeius hiemandi causa consederant. Hunc quum reliquis rebus[7] locum probabat, tum quod superioris anni munitiones integrae manebant, ut militum laborem sublevaret. Praesidio impedimentis legionem XIV. reliquit, unam ex iis tribus, quas proxime conscriptas ex Italia transduxerat. Ei legioni castrisque Q. Tullium Ciceronem praeficit ducentosque equites attribuit.

33. Partito exercitu, T. Labienum cum legionibus tribus ad Oceanum versus[8] in eas partes, quae Menapios attingunt,

[1] The *insulae* in this passage seem to be the downs near the coast.

[2] *Preces* here are 'curses' or 'imprecations.'

[3] *Taxus* is the yew-tree; but what Caesar here means are not the leaves, but the berries, which are poisonous.

[4] *Nihil* is a stronger negative than *non*, and signifies 'in no way,' or 'in no manner.' Compare ii. 20.

[5] *Quaestione captivorum*, 'by questioning the prisoners,' *captivorum* being an objective genitive.

[6] *Aduatuca* was a fortified place west of the Meuse, in the country of the Eburones. It is believed to be the modern town of Tongern.

[7] *Reliquis rebus* is the ablative of cause, 'on account of the other circumstances.'

[8] *Versus* is originally a participle (from *verto*), but came afterwards to be used as a preposition, and then the prepositions *ad* or *in*, which

proficisci jubet: C. Trebonium cum pari legionum numero ad eam regionem, quae Aduatucis adjacet depopulandam mittit: ipse cum reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldem,[1] quod influit in Mosam, extremasque Arduennae partes ire constituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. Discedens post diem septimum[2] sese reversurum confirmat: quam ad diem ei legioni, quae in praesidio relinquebatur, frumentum deberi sciebat. Labienum Treboniumque hortatur, si reipublicae[3] commodo facere possint, ad eam diem revertantur; ut rursus communicato consilio exploratisque hostium rationibus aliud belli initium capere possent.

34. Erat, ut supra demonstravimus, manus[4] certa nulla, non oppidum, non praesidium, quod se armis defenderet sed in omnes partes dispersa multitudo. Ubi cuique aut vallis abdita, aut locus silvestris, aut palus impedita spem praesidii aut salutis aliquam offerebat, consederat. Haec loca vicinitatibus[5] erant nota, magnamque res diligentiam requirebat, non in summa exercitus tuenda,[6] (nullum enim poterat universis ab perterritis ac dispersis periculum accidere) sed in singulis militibus conservandis; quae tamen ex parte res ad salutem exercitus pertinebat. Nam et praedae cupiditas multos longius evocabat, et silvae incertis occultisque itineribus confertos adire prohibebant. Si negotium confici stirpemque hominum sceleratorum interfici vellet, dimittendae plures manus diducendique erant milites: si continere ad signa manipulos vellet, ut instituta ratio et consuetudo exer-

were originally joined to the participle, were yet retained in conversational language, whence we often find *ad versus* or *in versus.*

[1] *Scaldis* is the modern Schelde, emptying itself into the sea below Antwerp. Caesar's description has led commentators to the belief that originally a branch of the Schelde flowed into the Meuse; but it must either be supposed that the whole country between the Schelde and Meuse has entirely changed its aspect since the days of Caesar, or that Caesar was mistaken in saying *quod influit in Mosam.*

[2] *Post diem septimum;* supply *inchoatum,* so that it becomes equivalent to 'on the seventh day.' See vi. 35.

[3] Compare v. 46, note 6.

[4] *Manus;* that is, a sufficient number of soldiers assembled in one place.

[5] *Vicinitates* here is the same as *vicini,* the abstract being used instead of the concrete.

[6] That is, 'in the care for the protection of the whole mass of the army.'

citus Romani postulabat, locus ipse erat praesidio barbaris, neque ex occulto insidiandi et dispersos circumveniendi singulis deerat audacia. At in ejusmodi difficultatibus, quantum diligentia provideri poterat, providebatur; ut potius in nocendo aliquid omitteretur, etsi omnium animi ad ulciscendum ardebant, quam cum aliquo detrimento militum noceretur. Caesar ad finitimas civitates nuncios dimittit, omnes ad se evocat spe praedae, ad diripiendos Eburones, ut potius in silvis Gallorum vita, quam legionarius miles[1] periclitetur; simul ut, magna multitudine circumfusa, pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen civitatis tollatur. Magnus undique numerus celeriter convenit.

35. Haec in omnibus Eburonum partibus gerebantur, diesque appetebat[2] septimus, quem ad diem Caesar ad impedimenta legionemque reverti constituerat. Hic, quantum in bello fortuna possit et quantos afferat casus, cognosci potuit. Dissipatis ac perterritis hostibus, ut demonstravimus, manus erat nulla, quae parvam modo causam timoris afferret. Trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama, diripi Eburones atque ultro[3] omnes ad praedam evocari. Cogunt equitum duo milia Sigambri, qui sunt proximi Rheno, a quibus receptos ex fuga Tencteros atque Usipetes supra docuimus:[4] transeunt Rhenum navibus ratibusque, XXX. milibus passuum infra eum locum, ubi pons erat perfectus[5] praesidiumque ab Caesare relictum: primos[6] Eburonum fines adeunt, multos ex fuga[7] dispersos excipiunt, magno pecoris numero, cujus sunt cupidissimi barbari, potiuntur. Invitati praeda longius procedunt: non hos palus, in bello latrociniisque natos, non silvae morantur: quibus in locis sit Caesar, ex captivis quaerunt; profectum longius reperiunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt. Atque unus ex captivis, quid vos, inquit, hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet jam esse fortunatissimis? Tribus horis Aduatucam venire potestis:

[1] The nominative *legionarius miles* is a brief and concise mode of speaking, instead of the more logical expression *vita legionarii militis.*

[2] *Appetere* signifies 'to approach,' especially in reference to time.

[3] *Ultro* indicates that any one might come, without being specially commanded or called upon.

[4] See iv. 16.

[5] *Perfectus* here is the same as *factus* or *exstructus.*

[6] *Primos;* that is, those which were nearest to them.

[7] *Ex fuga,* 'immediately after,' or 'in consequence of their flight.'

huc omnes suas fortunas exercitus Romanorum contulit; praesidii tantum[1] est, ut ne murus quidem cingi possit, neque quisquam egredi extra munitiones audeat. Oblata spe Germani, quam nacti erant praedam, in occulto relinquunt; ipsi Aduatucam contendunt, usi eodem duce, cujus haec indicio cognoverant.

36. Cicero, qui per omnes superiores dies praeceptis Caesaris summa diligentia milites in castris continuisset ac ne calonem quidem quemquam extra munitionem egredi passus esset, septimo die diffidens de numero dierum Caesarem fidem servaturum, quod longius eum progressum audiebat, neque ulla de reditu ejus fama afferebatur; simul eorum permotus vocibus, qui illius patientiam paene obsessionem appellabant, si quidem ex castris egredi non liceret; nullum ejusmodi casum exspectans, quo, novem oppositis legionibus maximoque equitatu, dispersis ac paene deletis hostibus, in milibus passuum III. offendi[2] posset; quinque cohortes frumentatum in proximas segetes misit, quas inter et castra unus omnino collis intererat. Complures erant in castris ex legionibus aegri relicti; ex quibus qui hoc spatio dierum convaluerant, circiter CCC. sub vexillo una mittuntur: magna praeterea multitudo calonum, magna vis jumentorum, quae in castris subsederat, facta potestate, sequitur.

37. Hoc ipso tempore et casu[3] Germani equites interveniunt, protinusque eodem illo, quo venerant, cursu ab decumana porta in castra irrumpere conantur: nec prius sunt visi, objectis ab ea parte silvis, quam castris appropinquarent, usque eo, ut, qui sub vallo tenderent[4] mercatores, recipiendi sui facultatem non haberent. Inopinantes nostri re nova perturbantur, ac vix primum impetum cohors in statione

1 *Tantum* frequently has the meaning of 'only so much,' intimating that there is little of a thing. See vi. 27, and ii. 8.

2 *Offendere* is properly, 'to stumble against anything,' hence the passive *offendi*, 'to be met by something which is an obstacle in our way;' that is, 'to encounter a difficulty or danger.' *In milibus passuum tribus;* the preposition *in* here seems to denote cause: 'considering that the distance was only three thousand paces.'

3 'At this moment, and under these unfortunate circumstances.'

4 *Tendere* in this passage has the same signification as *in tentoriis esse*, 'to be in the tents.' Tradespeople of every description, who followed the Roman camp, had a place assigned to them outside the camp, but close to the rampart (*sub vallo*).

sustinet. Circumfunduntur[1] ex reliquis hostes partibus, si quem aditum reperire possent. Aegre nostri portas tuentur, reliquos aditus locus ipse per se munitioque defendit. Totis trepidatur castris, atque alius ex alio causam tumultus quaerit; neque quo signa ferantur, neque quam in partem quisque conveniat, provident. Alius capta jam castra pronunciat; alius deleto exercitu atque imperatore victores barbaros venisse contendit: plerique novas sibi ex loco religiones[2] fingunt, Cottaeque et Titurii calamitatem, qui in eodem occiderint castello, ante oculos ponunt. Tali timore omnibus perterritis, confirmatur opinio barbaris, ut ex captivo audierant, nullum esse intus praesidium. Perrumpere nituntur seque ipsi adhortantur, ne tantam fortunam ex manibus dimittant.

38. Erat aeger in praesidio relictus P. Sextius Baculus, qui primum pilum ad[3] Caesarem duxerat, cujus mentionem superioribus proeliis fecimus,[4] ac diem jam quintum cibo caruerat. Hic, diffisus suae atque omnium saluti, inermis ex tabernaculo prodit: videt imminere hostes atque in summo rem esse discrimine: capit arma a proximis atque in porta consistit. Consequuntur hunc centuriones ejus cohortis, quae in statione erat: paullisper una proelium sustinent. Relinquit animus[5] Sextium, gravibus acceptis vulneribus: aegre per manus tractus servatur. Hoc spatio interposito, reliqui sese confirmant tantum, ut in munitionibus consistere audeant speciemque defensorum praebeant.[6]

39. Interim confecta frumentatione, milites nostri clamorem exaudiunt;[7] praecurrunt equites, quanto res sit in periculo, cognoscunt. Hic vero nulla munitio est, quae perterritos recipiat: modo conscripti atque usus militaris imperiti ad

[1] *Circumfundi*, 'to crowd around.'

[2] *Religiones* are fears and apprehensions arising out of a religious or superstitious feeling. These feelings were roused in this instance by the recollection that Cotta and Titurius had perished in the same place.

[3] *Ad* here has the meaning of *apud*, as in iii. 9: *nomen ad omnes nationes sanctum.*

[4] See ii. 24.

[5] *Relinquit animus*; that is, 'he faints;' for *animus* is strength, energy, whereas *anima* is breath, life, or soul.

[6] *Speciem praebere*, 'to present the outward appearance.'

[7] *Exaudire*, 'to hear from a distance.'

tribunum militum centurionesque ora convertunt: quid ab his praecipiatur, exspectant. Nemo est tam fortis, quin rei novitate perturbetur. Barbari, signa procul conspicati, oppugnatione desistunt: redisse primo legiones credunt, quas longius discessisse ex captivis cognoverant: postea, despecta[1] paucitate, ex omnibus partibus impetum faciunt.

40. Calones[2] in proximum tumulum procurrunt: hinc celeriter dejecti, se in signa manipulosque conjiciunt:[3] eo magis timidos perterrent milites. Alii, cuneo facto ut celeriter perrumpant, censent,[4] quoniam tam propinqua sint castra; et, si pars aliqua circumventa ceciderit, at[5] reliquos servari posse confidunt: alii, ut[6] in jugo consistant atque eumdem omnes ferant casum. Hoc veteres non probant milites, quos sub vexillo una profectos docuimus.[7] Itaque inter se cohortati, duce C. Trebonio, equite Romano, qui eis erat praepositus, per medios hostes perrumpunt incolumesque ad unum omnes in castra perveniunt. Hos subsecuti calones equitesque eodem impetu, militum virtute servantur. At ii, qui in jugo constiterant, nullo etiam nunc[8] usu rei militaris percepto, neque in eo, quod probaverant, consilio permanere, ut se loco superiore defenderent, neque eam, quam profuisse aliis vim celeritatemque viderant, imitari potuerunt: sed, se in castra recipere conati, iniquum in locum demiserant.[9] Centuriones, quorum nonnulli ex inferioribus ordinibus reliquarum legionum virtutis causa in superiores erant ordines hujus legionis

[1] *Despicere* implies the idea of contempt: 'to behold or perceive with contempt.'

[2] *Calones* were the attendants upon the soldiers; they were free men, though undoubtedly belonging to the lowest classes. They are said to have received their name from the Geeek word *κᾶλα*, a club, which they used as their weapon.

[3] *Se conjicere* here signifies, 'to hasten to a place for the purpose of seeking protection.'

[4] *Censere*, 'to be of opinion,' is here followed by *ut—perrumpant*, and not by the accusative with the infinitive, because *censere* contains the idea of a wish or desire.

[5] *At* here has the meaning of *tamen*, 'at least.'

[6] The *ut* again refers to *censent*, which must be understood before it.

[7] See chap. 36.

[8] *Etiam nunc*, 'even now,' or 'still.'

[9] *Demiserant;* supply *se*, 'they threw themselves,' or 'they came into an unfavourable position.' The pluperfect here brings the matter more vividly before us than the historical perfect, for the meaning is: 'they had come to that position, and there they then were.'

transducti, ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent, fortissime pugnantes conciderunt. Militum pars, horum virtute submotis hostibus, praeter spem incolumis in castra pervenit; pars a barbaris circumventa periit.

41. Germani, desperata expugnatione castrorum, quod nostros jam constitisse in munitionibus videbant, cum ea praeda, quam in silvis deposuerant, trans Rhenum sese receperunt. Ac tantus fuit etiam post discessum hostium terror, ut ea nocte, quum C. Volusenus missus cum equitatu ad castra venisset, fidem non faceret,[1] adesse cum incolumi Caesarem exercitu. Sic omnium animos timor praeoccupaverat, ut, paene alienata mente,[2] deletis omnibus copiis equitatum tantum se ex fuga recepisse dicerent, neque, incolumi exercitu,[3] Germanos castra oppugnaturos fuisse contenderent. Quem timorem Caesaris adventus sustulit.

42. Reversus ille, eventus[4] belli non ignorans, unum, quod cohortes ex statione et praesidio essent emissae, questus, ne minimo quidem casu[5] locum relinqui debuisse, multum fortunam in repentino hostium adventu potuisse judicavit;[6] multo etiam amplius, quod paene ab ipso vallo portisque castrorum barbaros avertisset. Quarum omnium rerum maxime admirandum videbatur, quod Germani, qui eo consilio Rhenum transierant, ut Ambiorigis fines depopularentur, ad castra Romanorum delati, optatissimum Ambiorigi beneficium obtulerint.

43. Caesar, rursus ad vexandos hostes profectus, magno coacto numero[7] ex finitimis civitatibus, in omnes partes dimittit. Omnes vici atque omnia aedificia, quae quisque conspexerat, incendebantur: praeda ex omnibus locis agebatur:[8]

[1] *Fidem alicui facere*, 'to make a person believe.'

[2] *Alienata mente*, 'having almost lost their senses.'

[3] *Incolumi exercitu* is the ablative absolute, and has the force of a conditional clause: 'if the army had been unimpaired.'

[4] *Eventus* is the accusative plural—namely: 'the various and uncertain chances of war.'

[5] *Casu* is an ancient form of the dative instead of *casui*. See vi. 44.

[6] *Judicavit.* This clause contains the circumstance or consideration by which Caesar consoled himself for the things of which in the preceding clause he complained.

[7] *Coacto numero;* instead of this ablative absolute, Caesar might have used the accusative *coactum numerum*, dependent upon the verb *dimittit*.

[8] *Agere*, when used in connection with booty, indicates that the booty consists of cattle, which are 'driven away.'

frumenta non solum a tanta multitudine jumentorum atque hominum consumebantur, sed etiam anni tempore[1] atque imbribus procubuerant; ut, si qui etiam in praesentia se occultassent, tamen iis, deducto exercitu, rerum omnium inopia pereundum videretur. Ac saepe in eum locum[2] ventum est, tanto in omnes partes diviso equitatu, ut modo[3] visum ab se Ambiorigem in fuga captivi, nec plane etiam[4] abisse ex conspectu contenderent, ut,[5] spe consequendi illata atque infinito labore suscepto, qui se summam ab Caesare gratiam inituros putarent, paene naturam studio vincerent, semperque paullum ad summam felicitatem defuisse videretur, atque ille latebris aut saltibus se eriperet, et noctu occultatus alias regiones partesque peteret, non majore equitum praesidio, quam quatuor, quibus solis vitam suam committere audebat.

44. Tali modo vastatis regionibus, exercitum Caesar duarum cohortium damno Durocortorum Remorum[6] reducit, concilioque in eum locum Galliae indicto, de conjuratione Senonum et Carnutum quaestionem habere instituit; et de Accone, qui princeps ejus consilii fuerat, graviore sententia pronunciata, more majorum[7] supplicium sumsit. Nonnulli judicium veriti profugerunt; quibus quum aqua atque igni interdixisset, duas legiones ad fines Trevirorum, duas in Lingonibus, sex reliquas in Senonum finibus Agendici[8] in hibernis collocavit; frumentoque exercitu[9] proviso, ut instituerat, in Italiam ad conventus agendos profectus est.

[1] *Anni tempore*, for it was autumn, and the showers of rain, frequent during that season, had thrown down the corn in the fields, and spoiled it.

[2] *Locus* here, as often, has the meaning of 'state,' 'condition,' or 'point.' See ii. 26.

[3] *Modo* is the same as *paullo ante*, 'shortly before,' or 'just before.'

[4] *Etiam* here has the meaning of *et jam*, 'yet,' or 'even yet,' so that it is almost the same as *adhuc*.

[5] *Ut* is the same as *ita ut*, and to *consequendi* supply *eum*—namely, *Ambiorigem*.

[6] *Durocortorum Remorum;* supply *urbem*. It was the capital of the Belgae, and in later times became the seat of the Roman proconsul, who governed the province of Belgian Gaul.

[7] *More majorum* refers to the Romans. The execution of Acco, which Caesar ordered to be performed according to the mode of the early Romans, consisted in the criminal being scourged to death by the lictors.

[8] *Agendicum* was the capital of the Senones, in Gallia Lugdunensis, and is the modern town of Sens.

[9] See chap. 42, note 5.

LIBER VII.

Quieta Gallia, Caesar, ut constituerat, in Italiam[1] ad conventus agendos proficiscitur. Ibi cognoscit de Clodii caede:[2] de senatusque consulto certior factus, ut omnes juniores Italiae conjurarent,[3] dilectum tota provincia habere instituit. Eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur. Addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur, retineri urbano motu Caesarem, neque in tantis dissensionibus[4] ad exercitum venire posse. Hac impulsi occasione, qui jam ante se populi Romani imperio subjectos dolerent, liberius atque audacius de bello consilia inire incipiunt. Indictis inter se principes Galliae conciliis silvestribus ac remotis locis, queruntur de Acconis morte; hunc casum[5] ad ipsos recidere posse demonstrant; miserantur communem Galliae fortunam; omnibus pollicitationibus ac praemiis deposcunt,[6] qui belli initium faciant et sui capitis periculo Galliam in libertatem vindicent. Ejus[7] inprimis rationem habendam dicunt, priusquam eorum clandestina consilia efferantur, ut Caesar ab exercitu intercludatur. Id esse facile, quod neque legiones, absente imperatore, audeant ex hibernis egredi, neque imperator sine praesidio ad legiones pervenire possit: postremo in acie praestare interfici, quam non veterem belli gloriam libertatemque, quam a majoribus acceperint, recuperare.

2. His rebus agitatis, profitentur Carnutes, se nullum peri-

[1] That is, the north of Italy, or Gallia Cisalpina.

[2] Clodius was killed by the slaves of Milo shortly before the end of the year B.C. 53.

[3] *Conjurare* here signifies 'to take the military oath in a body,' for, as the dangers were urgent, there was no time for administering the military oath (*sacramentum*) to each individually. The *juniores* here are all the men between the ages of 17 and 46, who were bound to serve in the legions.

[4] The *dissensiones* refer to the riots and disorders which broke out at Rome in consequence of the murder of Clodius.

[5] *Casus* is 'misfortune,' and *recidere* 'to befall.'

[6] *Deposcunt;* supply *tales* or *eos*, to which the following *qui* (that is, *ut*) refers.

[7] *Ejus* is the same as *ejus rei*, and is explained by the clause *ut Caesar ab exercitu*, &c.

culum communis salutis causa recusare,[1] principesque ex omnibus bellum facturos pollicentur, et, quoniam in praesentia obsidibus inter se cavere non possint, ne[2] res efferatur, ut jurejurando ac fide sanciatur, petunt, collatis militaribus signis (quo more eorum gravissimae cerimoniae continentur), ne facto initio belli ab reliquis deserantur. Tum, collaudatis Carnutibus, dato jurejurando ab omnibus qui aderant, tempore ejus rei[3] constituto, ab concilio disceditur.

3. Ubi ea dies venit, Carnutes, Cotuato et Conetoduno ducibus, desperatis[4] hominibus, Genabum[5] dato signo concurrunt civesque Romanos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant,[6] in his C. Fusium Citam, honestum equitem Romanum, qui rei frumentariae jussu Caesaris praeerat, interficiunt bonaque eorum diripiunt. Celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur: nam, ubi major atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt;[7] ut tum accidit. Nam, quae Genabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt; quod spatium est milium circiter CLX.

4. Simili ratione ibi Vercingetorix, Celtilli filius, Arvernus, summae potentiae adolescens (cujus pater principatum Galliae totius obtinuerat, et ob eam causam, quod regnum appetebat, ab civitate erat interfectus), convocatis suis clientibus, facile incendit.[8] Cognito ejus consilio, ad arma concurritur: ab

[1] *Recusare*, the present, instead of the future, represents the matter in a more vivid manner.

[2] *Ne* refers to *cavere*, but the following *ut* belongs to *petunt*, and the *ne* after the parenthesis refers to the whole clause *ut jurejurandos anciatur*.

[3] *Ejus rei;* that is, for the war to be undertaken against the Romans.

[4] *Desperatus* is a person who despairs of himself, so that the passive *desperatus* has the meaning of the Greek middle voice.

[5] *Genabum*, a town of the Carnutes on the Ligeris (Loire), afterwards called Aureliani, whence its modern name Orleans.

[6] The *negotiatores* or merchants in the Roman provinces were chiefly equites: their business was of a twofold nature: they either lent money at a very high per centage to the provincials, or purchased large stores of grain, which they conveyed to Italy and Rome.

[7] From this description, it is evident that Gauls were stationed at intervals, and formed a line through which communications were made in a short time to persons at a considerable distance. The whole arrangement resembled a modern telegraph.

[8] *Incendit;* supply *eos*, which is to be taken out of the preceding ablative absolute. See vi. 43, note 7.

Gobanitione, patruo suo, reliquisque principibus, qui hanc tentandam fortunam non existimabant, expellitur ex oppido Gergovia:[1] non destitit tamen atque in agris habet dilectum egentium ac perditorum. Hac coacta manu, quoscumque adit ex civitate, ad suam sententiam perducit: hortatur, ut communis libertatis causa arma capiant: magnisque coactis copiis, adversarios suos, a quibus paullo ante erat ejectus, expellit ex civitate. Rex ab suis appellatur; dimittit quoquoversus legationes; obtestatur, ut in fide maneant. Celeriter sibi Senones, Parisios, Pictones, Cadurcos, Turonos, Aulercos, Lemovices, Andes reliquosque omnes, qui Oceanum attingunt, adjungit: omnium consensu ad eum defertur imperium. Qua oblata potestate, omnibus his civitatibus obsides imperat, certum numerum militum ad se celeriter adduci jubet, armorum quantum quaeque civitas domi, quodque ante tempus efficiat,[2] constituit: in primis equitatui studet. Summae diligentiae summam imperii severitatem addit: magnitudine suplicii dubitantes cogit: nam, majore commisso delicto,[3] igni atque omnibus tormentis necat: leviore de causa, auribus desectis aut singulis effossis oculis, domum remittit, ut sint reliquis documento et magnitudine poenae perterreant alios.

5. His supliciis celeriter coacto exercitu, Lucterium Cadurcum, summae hominem audaciae, cum parte copiarum in Rutenos mittit: ipse in Bituriges proficiscitur. Ejus adventu Bituriges ad Aeduos, quorum erant in fide,[4] legatos mittunt subsidium rogatum, quo facilius hostium copias sustinere possint. Aedui de consilio[5] legatorum, quos Caesar ad exercitum reliquerat, copias equitatus peditatusque subsidio Biturigibus mittunt. Qui quum ad flumen Ligerim venissent, quod Bituriges ab Aeduis dividit, paucos dies ibi morati, neque flumen transire ausi, domum revertuntur legatisque nostris renunciant, se Biturigum perfidiam veritos revertisse, quibus id

[1] *Gergovia*, a town of the Arverni, is identified by some geographers with the modern Clermont in Auvergne, and by others with Jargeau or Gergeau, not far from Orleans.

[2] *Efficiat;* that is, *efficere*, or *conficere debeat*, 'which every state had to raise.'

[3] This ablative takes the place of a conditional clause: 'if a person committed a serious crime.' See vi. 41, note 3.

[4] *In fide* here seems to be the same as *in clientela.*

[5] *De consilio;* that is, 'according to the advice.' Similar expressions are: *de more*, *de sententia.*

consilii fuisse cognoverint, ut, si flumen transissent, una ex parte ipsi, altera Arverni se circumsisterent. Id eane de causa, quam legatis pronunciarunt, an perfidia adducti fecerint, quod nihil nobis constat, non videtur pro certo esse ponendum.[1] Bituriges eorum discessu statim se cum Arvernis conjungunt.

6. His rebus in Italiam Caesari nunciatis, quum jam ille urbanas res[2] virtute Cn. Pompeii commodiorem in statum pervenisse intelligeret, in Transalpinam Galliam profectus est. Eo quum venisset, magna difficultate afficiebatur, qua[3] ratione ad exercitum pervenire posset. Nam si legiones in provinciam arcesseret, se absente in itinere proelio dimicaturas intelligebat: si ipse ad exercitum contenderet, ne iis quidem, qui eo tempore pacati viderentur, suam salutem recte committi videbat.

7. Interim Lucterius Cadurcus, in Rutenos missus, eam civitatem Arvernis conciliat. Progressus in Nitiobriges et Gabalos, ab utrisque obsides accipit, et magna coacta manu, in provinciam Narbonem versus[4] eruptionem facere contendit. Qua re nunciata, Caesar omnibus consiliis antevertendum[5] existimavit, ut Narbonem proficisceretur. Eo quum venisset, timentes confirmat, praesidia in Rutenis provincialibus,[6] Volcis Arecomicis, Tolosatibus, circumque Narbonem, quae loca hostibus erant finitima, constituit: partem copiarum ex provincia supplementumque, quod ex Italia adduxerat, in Helvios, qui fines Arvernorum contingunt, convenire jubet.

8. His rebus comparatis, represso jam Lucterio et remoto,

[1] *Ponendum*, here and elsewhere, has the meaning of *statuendum*, *affirmandum*.

[2] During the disturbances which took place at Rome after the murder of Clodius, Pompey was elected sole consul, and ordered by the senate to watch over the safety of the republic.

[3] Before *qua* we must supply the verb *dubitans* or *nesciens*, which is, in fact, implied in the expression *difficultate afficiebatur*, 'he found himself in great difficulties, not knowing,' &c.

[4] Compare vi. 32, note 8.

[5] *Antevertere* is, 'to anticipate a person, and thereby to prevent his carrying out his plan;' *omnibus consiliis* is the ablative, and equivalent to *prae omnibus consiliis*. The sense is: 'before forming any other plan, Caesar thought it necessary to go to Narbo.'

[6] The *Ruteni* were the inhabitants of modern Rovergue, in the north of the Roman province; but a part of the Ruteni belonged to the Roman province, and these are here called *Ruteni provinciales*.

quod intrare intra praesidia periculosum putabat, in Helvios proficiscitur: etsi mons Cevenna,[1] qui Arvernos ab Helviis discludit, durissimo tempore anni, altissima nive iter impediebat: tamen discussa nive sex in altitudinem pedum atque ita viis patefactis, summo militum labore ad fines Arvernorum pervenit. Quibus oppressis inopinantibus, quod se Cevenna ut muro munitos existimabant, ac ne singulari quidem umquam homini[2] eo tempore anni semitae patuerant, equitibus imperat, ut quam latissime possint, vagentur et quam maximum hostibus terrorem inferant. Celeriter haec fama ac nunciis ad Vercingetorigem perferuntur: quem perterriti omnes Arverni circumsistunt atque obsecrant, ut suis fortunis consulat, neu se ab hostibus diripi patiatur; praesertim quum videat omne ad se bellum translatum. Quorum ille precibus permotus, castra ex Biturigibus movet in Arvernos versus.

9. At Caesar, biduum in iis locis moratus, quod haec de Vercingetorige usu ventura[3] opinione praeceperat, per causam supplementi[4] equitatusque cogendi ab exercitu discedit; Brutum adolescentem iis copiis praeficit; hunc monet, ut in omnis partes equites quam latissime pervagentur: daturum se operam, ne longius triduo ab castris absit. His constitutis rebus, suis inopinantibus, quam maximis potest itineribus, Viennam[5] pervenit. Ibi nactus recentem equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo praemiserat, neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermisso, per fines Aeduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi duae legiones hiemabant, ut, si quid etiam de sua salute[6] ab Aeduis iniretur consilii, celeritate praecurreret. Eo quum pervenisset, ad reliquas legiones mittit, priusque omnes in unum locum cogit, quam de ejus adventu Arvernis nunciari posset. Hac re cognita, Vercingetorix rursus in

[1] *Cebenna* is the range of mountains now called the Sevennes.

[2] *Singulari homini* here is the same as *singulis hominibus;* for *singularis* usually signifies that which is singular in its kind; or that which is not like anything else.

[3] *Usu venit*, 'a thing comes to be realised,' or takes place; *opinione praecipere*, 'to believe a thing before it actually takes place.' Sense: 'because he had foreseen that Vercingetorix would act in this manner.'

[4] *Per causam supplementi;* that is, *supplementi cogendi causa.*

[5] *Vienna*, a town in the country of the Allobroges, which in the time of Augustus became the capital of that nation, and being made a Roman colony, became one of the most important places in Gaul. Its modern name is Vienne.

[6] *De sua salute;* that is, *contra se*, or *contra suam salutem.*

Bituriges exercitum reducit,[1] atque inde profectus Gergoviam,[2] Boiorum oppidum, quos ibi Helvetico proelio victos Caesar collocaverat Aeduisque attribuerat, oppugnare instituit.

10. Magnam haec res Caesari difficultatem ad consilium capiendum afferebat: si reliquam partem hiemis uno in loco legiones contineret, ne[3] stipendiariis Aeduorum expugnatis, cuncta Gallia deficeret, quod nullum amicis in eo[4] praesidium videret positum esse: sin maturius ex hibernis educeret, ne ab[5] re frumentaria duris subvectionibus laboraret. Praestare visum est tamen, omnes difficultates perpeti, quam tanta contumelia accepta, omnium suorum voluntates alienare. Itaque cohortatus Aeduos de supportando commeatu, praemittit ad Boios, qui de suo adventu doceant hortenturque, ut in fide maneant atque hostium impetum magno animo sustineant. Duabus Agendici[6] legionibus atque impedimentis totius exercitus relictis, ad Boios proficiscitur.

11. Altero die quum ad oppidum Senonum Vellaunodunum[7] venisset, ne quem post se hostem relinqueret, quo expeditiore re frumentaria uteretur, oppugnare instituit idque biduo circumvallavit: tertio die missis ex oppido legatis de deditione, arma proferri, jumenta produci, DC. obsides dari jubet. Ea qui conficeret, C. Trebonium legatum relinquit: ipse, ut quam primum iter faceret,[8] Genabum Carnutum proficiscitur, qui, tum primum allato nuntio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, quum longius eam[9] rem ductum iri existimarent, praesidium Genabi tuendi causa, quod eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo pervenit: castris ante oppidum

[1] *Rursus reducit,* a pleonasm which is very common in the case of *rursus,* with a verb having the prefix *re.*

[2] *Gergovia,* in the country of the Boians, cannot with certainty be identified with any modern town, though some believe it to be Moulins en Bourbonnois.

[3] The *ne* here depends upon some verb denoting 'fear,' which is implied in the preceding word *difficultatem.*

[4] *In eo;* that is, 'in Caesar;' the subject of *videret* is *Gallia:* 'since all Gaul would see that he was unable to protect his friends.'

[5] The *ab* here indicates the source of the possible suffering. *Durae subvectiones* are 'the laborious and difficult ways in which provisions are to be obtained or supplied.'

[6] *Agendicum.* See vi. 44, note 8.

[7] *Vellaunodunum,* a town mentioned only by Caesar, seems to have been situated between Agendicum (Sens) and Genabum (Orleans).

[8] Namely, to Gergovia, to attack Vercingetorix.

[9] *Eam rem;* that is, *oppugnationem urbis Vellaunoduni.*

positis, diei tempore exclusus, in posterum oppugnationem differt, quaeque ad eam rem usui sint, militibus imperat; et, quod oppidum Genabum pons fluminis Ligeris continebat,[1] veritus, ne noctu ex oppido profugerent, duas legiones in armis excubare jubet. Genabenses, paullo ante mediam noctem silentio ex oppido egressi, flumen transire coeperunt. Qua re per exploratores nunciata, Caesar legiones, quas expeditas esse jusserat, portis incensis, intromittit atque oppido potitur, perpaucis ex hostium numero desideratis, quin cuncti vivi caperentur,[2] quod pontis atque itinerum angustiae multitudini fugam intercluserant. Oppidum diripit atque incendit, praedam militibus donat, exercitum Ligerim transducit atque in Biturigum fines pervenit.

12. Vercingetorix, ubi de Caesaris adventu cognovit, oppugnatione destitit atque obviam Caesari proficiscitur. Ille oppidum [Biturigum, positum in via], Noviodunum[3] oppugnare instituerat. Quo ex oppido quum legati ad eum venissent, oratum, ut sibi ignosceret suaeque vitae consuleret; ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret, qua pleraque erat consecutus, arma proferri, equos produci, obsides dari jubet. Parte jam obsidum tradita, quum reliqua administrarentur, centurionibus et paucis militibus intromissis, qui arma jumentaque conquirerent, equitatus hostium procul visus est, qui agmen Vercingetorigis antecesserat. Quem simulatque oppidani conspexerunt atque in spem auxilii venerunt, clamore sublato arma capere, portas claudere, murum complere coeperunt. Centuriones in oppido quum ex significatione Gallorum novi aliquid ab his iniri consilii intellexissent, gladiis destrictis portas occupaverunt suosque omnes incolumes receperunt.[4]

13. Caesar ex castris equitatum educi jubet proeliumque

[1] *Continebat;* the town lay on both sides of the river, so that its two parts were connected by the bridge.

[2] That is, 'so very few of the number of enemies being missing (having escaped), that it might be said all were taken alive.'

[3] *Noviodunum*, as Caesar (vii. 55) says, was a town of the Aedui, and not of the Bituriges, though it was near their frontier; hence we must suppose either that Caesar made a blunder, or that the words *Biturigum, positum in via*, are an interpolation. Noviodunum is the modern town of Nevers on the Loire.

[4] *Receperunt;* that is, 'they gathered them round themselves,' or 'they took them back to the camp.'

equestre committit: laborantibus jam suis Germanos equites circiter CCCC. submittit,[1] quos ab initio secum habere instituerat. Eorum impetum Galli sustinere non potuerunt atque in fugam conjecti, multis amissis, se ad agmen receperunt: quibus profligatis, rursus oppidani perterriti comprehensos eos, quorum opera plebem concitatam existimabant, ad Caesarem perduxerunt seseque ei dediderunt. Quibus rebus confectis, Caesar ad oppidum Avaricum,[2] quod erat maximum munitissimumque in finibus Biturigum atque agri fertilissima regione, profectus est; quod, eo oppido recepto, civitatem Biturigum se in postatem redacturum confidebat.

14. Vercingetorix, tot continuis incommodis Vellaunoduni, Genabi, Novioduni acceptis, suos ad concilium convocat. Docet, longe alia ratione esse bellum gerendum, atque antea sit gestum: omnibus modis huic rei studendum, ut pabulatione et commeatu Romani prohibeantur: id esse facile, quod equitatu ipsi abundent, et quod anni tempore[3] subleventur: pabulum secari non posse; necessario dispersos hostes ex aedificiis petere:[4] hos omnes quotidie ab equitibus deleri posse. Praeterea salutis causa rei familiaris commoda negligenda; vicos atque aedificia incendi opportere hoc spatio,[5] a Boia quoquo versus, quo pabulandi causa adire posse videantur. Harum ipsis rerum[6] copiam suppetere, quod, quorum in finibus bellum geratur, eorum opibus subleventur: Romanos aut inopiam non laturos, aut magno cum periculo longius ab castris progressuros: neque interesse, ipsosne interficiant, impedimentisne[7] exuant, quibus amissis bellum geri non possit. Praeterea oppida incendi oportere, quae non munitione et loci natura ab omni sint periculo tuta; neu suis sint ad detractandam[8] militiam re-

[1] *Submittere* is the same as *auxilio mittere; sub*, in composition, frequently having the meaning of 'support.'

[2] *Avaricum*, the capital of the Bituriges, on the river Avera (Euvre), was afterwards called Biturigae, whence its modern name Bourges.

[3] *Anni tempore*, it being in the depth of winter. See vii. 8.

[4] *Petere;* supply *pabulum.*

[5] *Hoc spatio;* these words are explained by what follows; namely, 'from the territory of the Boians (for *Boia* is the same as *terra Boia;* see iii. 9, note 5), in all directions, as far as,' &c.

[6] *Harum rerum* refers no less to *vici* and *aedificia* than to *pabulum.*

[7] *Ne—ne* is here used for the more common expression *utrum—an.*

[8] *Detractare,* the same as *detrectare,* 'to avoid or decline serving in the army.'

ceptacula, neu Romanis proposita ad copiam commeatus praedamque tollendam. Haec si gravia aut acerba videantur, multo illa gravius aestimare debere, liberos, conjuges in servitutem abstrahi, ipsos interfici; quae sit necesse accidere victis.

15. Omnium consensu hac sententia probata, uno die amplius XX. urbes Biturigum incenduntur. Hoc idem fit in reliquis civitatibus. In omnibus partibus incendia conspiciuntur; quae etsi magno cum dolore omnes ferebant, tamen hoc sibi solatii proponebant, quod se, prope explorata victoria, celeriter amissa recuperaturos confidebant. Deliberatur de Avarico in communi concilio, incendi placeret,[1] an defendi. Procumbunt omnibus Gallis ad pedes Bituriges, ne pulcherrimam prope totius Galliae urbem, quae et praesidio et ornamento sit civitati, suis manibus succendere cogerentur; facile se loci natura defensuros dicunt, quod, prope ex omnibus partibus flumine et palude circumdata, unum habeat et[2] perangustum aditum. Datur petentibus venia, dissuadente primo Vercingetorige, post concedente, et precibus[3] ipsorum et misericordia vulgi. Defensores oppido idonei deliguntur.

16. Vercingetorix minoribus Caesarem itineribus subsequitur et locum castris deligit, paludibus silvisque munitum, ab Avarico longe milia passuum XVI. Ibi per certos exploratores in singula diei tempora,[4] quae ad Avaricum agerentur, cognoscebat, et quid fieri vellet, imperabat: omnes nostras pabulationes frumentationesque observabat, dispersosque, quum longius necessario procederent, adoriebatur magnoque incommodo afficiebat: etsi, quantum ratione provideri poterat, ab nostris occurrebatur,[5] ut incertis temporibus diversisque itineribus iretur.

[1] Before *incendi placeret* we must supply *utrum*, which is omitted for the purpose of making the question more lively and animated.

[2] *Et* here has the meaning of 'and that,' the word which follows the *et* being an explanation of the one preceding it.

[3] *Precibus;* that is, *propter preces et propter misericordiam*. The genitive *vulgi* is objective.

[4] *Singula tempora* here are the subdivisions of the day. The preposition *in* is the English 'for.'

[5] *Occurrere* is 'to meet an emergency,' or 'to provide against it;' the manner in which this was done is explained by the clause beginning with *ut*.

17. Castris ad eam partem oppidi positis, Caesar, quae intermissa a flumine et a palude aditum, ut supra diximus,[1] angustum habebat, aggerem apparare, vineas agere, turres duas constituere coepit: nam circumvallare loci natura prohibebat. De re frumentaria Boios atque Aeduos adhortari non destitit: quorum alteri, quod nullo studio agebant, non multum adjuvabant; alteri non magnis facultatibus,[2] quod civitas erat exigua et infirma, celeriter, quod habuerunt, consumserunt. Summa difficultate rei frumentariae affecto exercitu, tenuitate Boiorum, indiligentia Aeduorum, incendiis aedificiorum, usque eo,[3] ut complures dies milites frumento caruerint, et pecore e longinquioribus vicis adacto, extremam famem sustentarent, nulla tamen vox est ab iis audita, populi Romani majestate et superioribus victoriis indigna. Quin etiam Caesar quum in opere singulas legiones appellaret, et, si acerbius inopiam ferrent, se dimissurum oppugnationem diceret; universi ab eo, ne id faceret, petebant: sic se complures annos illo imperante meruisse,[4] ut nullam ignominiam acciperent, numquam infecta re discederent: hoc se ignominiae laturos loco, si inceptam oppugnationem reliquissent: praestare, omnes perferre acerbitates, quam non civibus Romanis, qui Genabi perfidia Gallorum interissent, parentarent.[5] Haec eadem centurionibus tribunisque militum mandabant, ut per eos ad Caesarem deferrentur.

18. Quum jam muro turres appropinquassent, ex captivis Caesar cognovit, Vercingetorigem consumto pabulo castra movisse propius Avaricum, atque ipsum cum equitatu expeditisque, qui inter equites proeliari consuessent, insidiarum causa eo profectum, quo nostros postero die pabulatum venturos arbitraretur. Quibus rebus cognitis, media nocte silentio profectus, ad hostium castra mane pervenit. Illi, celeriter per exploratores adventu Caesaris cognito, carros impe-

1 See vii. 15.

2 *Non magnis facultatibus* is the ablative absolute, 'the others possessing but small means.'

3 *Usque eo*, 'to such a degree;' these words belong to *affecto exercitu*.

4 *Meruisse;* supply *stipendia; stipendia merere* signifying 'to serve in the army.'

5 *Parentarent* is here used instead of the infinitive. See ii. 10, note 4, where *convenirent* is employed instead of *convenire*. The verb *parentare* signifies, 'to perform those rites and duties which are due to the dead;' hence also, 'to take vengeance for the death of a person.'

dimentaque sua in artiores silvas abdiderunt, copias omnes in loco edito atque aperto instruxerunt. Qua re nunciata, Caesar celeriter sarcinas conferri, arma expediri jussit.

19. Collis erat, leniter ab infimo acclivis: hunc ex omnibus fere partibus palus difficilis atque impedita cingebat, non latior pedibus L. Hoc se colle, interruptis pontibus, Galli fiducia loci continebant, generatimque[1] distributi in civitates, omnia vada ac saltus[2] ejus paludis certis custodiis obtinebant, sic animo parati, ut, si eam paludem Romani perrumpere conarentur, haesitantes premerent ex loco superiore: ut, qui propinquitatem loci videret,[3] paratos prope aequo Marte[4] ad dimicandum existimaret; qui iniquitatem conditionis perspiceret, inani simulatione sese ostentare cognosceret. Indignantes milites Caesar, quod conspectum suum hostes ferre possent, tantulo spatio interjecto, et signum proelii exposcentes, edocet, quanto detrimento et quot virorum fortium morte necesse sit constare victoriam: quos quum sic animo paratos videat, ut nullum pro sua laude periculum recusent, summae se iniquitatis condemnari[5] debere, nisi eorum vitam sua salute habeat cariorem. Sic milites consolatus, eodem die reducit in castra; reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem oppidi pertinebant, administrare instituit.

20. Vercingetorix, quum ad suos redisset, proditionis insimulatus, quod castra propius Romanos movisset, quod cum omni equitatu discessisset, quod sine imperio tantas copias reliquisset, quod ejus discessu Romani tanta opportunitate et celeritate venissent; non haec omnia fortuito aut sine consilio accidere potuisse;[6] regnum illum Galliae malle Caesaris concessu, quam ipsorum habere beneficio: tali modo accusatus ad haec respondit: quod castra movisset, factum inopia pabuli, etiam ipsis hortantibus: quod propius Romanos

[1] *Generatim;* that is, 'according to the tribes to which they belonged.'

[2] *Saltus* is 'a thick wood,' through which it is difficult to pass, whether on a mountain or in a plain.

[3] *Qui videret,* 'he who should see;' the singular here has a collective meaning.

[4] *Mars,* the god of war, is often used to designate war itself, with its various chances; hence *aequo Marte* is, 'with equal success (in war).'

[5] *Condemnare,* 'to declare guilty.'

[6] This and the following infinitives depend upon a verb of 'saying,' which is implied in *insimulatus.*

accessisset, persuasum[1] loci opportunitate, qui se ipsum munitione defenderet: equitum vero operam neque in loco palustri desiderari debuisse, et[2] illic fuisse utilem, quo sint profecti: summam imperii se consulto nulli discedentem tradidisse, ne is multitudinis studio ad dimicandum impelleretur; cui rei propter animi mollitiem[3] studere omnes videret, quod diutius laborem ferre non possent. Romani si casu intervenerint, fortunae; si alicujus indicio vocati, huic habendam gratiam, quod et paucitatem eorum ex loco superiore cognoscere, et virtutem despicere potuerint; qui, dimicare non ausi, turpiter se in castra receperint. Imperium se ab Caesare per proditionem nullum[4] desiderare, quod habere victoria posset, quae jam esset sibi atque omnibus Gallis explorata: quin etiam ipsis remittere,[5] si sibi magis honorem tribuere, quam ab se salutem accipere videantur. Haec ut intellegatis, inquit, a me sincere pronunciari, audite Romanos milites. Producit servos, quos in pabulatione paucis ante diebus exceperat et fame vinculisque excruciaverat. Hi jam ante edocti quae interrogati pronunciarent, milites se esse legionarios dicunt: fame et inopia adductos clam ex castris exisse, si quid frumenti aut pecoris in agris reperire possent: simili omnem exercitum inopia premi, nec jam vires sufficere cuiquam, nec ferre operis laborem posse: itaque statuisse imperatorem, si nihil in oppugnatione oppidi profecisset, triduo exercitum deducere. Haec, inquit, a me, Vercingetorix, beneficia habetis, quem proditionis insimulatis, cujus opera sine vestro sanguine tantum exercitum victorem[6] fame paene consumtum videtis; quem turpiter se ex hac fuga recipientem, ne qua civitas suis finibus recipiat, a me provisum est.

21. Conclamat omnis multitudo, et suo more armis con-

[1] *Persuasum;* supply *sibi fuisse.*

[2] *Neque—et.* It frequently happens in Latin that a writer begins a clause with *nec* or *neque,* as if he was going to use another beginning with the same negative, but instead of it he employs *et,* the sentence not being a negative one. See iv. 29.

[3] *Mollities* here is not 'effeminacy,' but 'want of energy and perseverance,' which, according to Vercingetorix, were required in this case.

[4] *Nullum* is stronger and more emphatic than *non.*

[5] *Remittere;* supply *se,* 'he would leave it to their own judgment.'

[6] *Victor* and similar verbal substantives are often used as adjectives.

crepat; quod facere in eo[1] consuerunt, cujus orationem approbant; summum esse Vercingetorigem ducem, nec de ejus fide dubitandum; nec majore ratione bellum administrari posse. Statuunt, ut[2] decem milia hominum delecta ex omnibus copiis in oppidum submittantur, nec solis Biturigibus communem salutem committendam censent; quod penes eos, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intelligebant.

22. Singulari militum nostrorum virtuti consilia cujusque modi Gallorum occurrebant, ut est summae genus[3] sollertiae, atque ad omnia imitanda et efficienda, quae ab quoque tradantur, aptissimum. Nam et laqueis falces[4] avertebant, quas quum destinaverant, tormentis introrsus reducebant; et aggerem cuniculis subtrahebant,[5] eo scientius, quod apud eos magnae sunt ferrariae, atque omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est. Totum autem murum ex omni parte turribus contabulaverant[6] atque has coriis intexerant. Tum crebris diurnis nocturnisque eruptionibus aut aggeri ignem inferebant, aut milites occupatos in opere adoriebantur; et nostrarum turrium altitudinem, quantum has quotidianus agger expresserat,[7] commissis suarum turrium malis,[8] adae-

[1] *In eo;* that is, 'in the case of a person.' *In* is very often used in this sense.

[2] *Ut* after the verb *statuo*, instead of the accusative with the infinitive, occurs now and then, but it may be that *ut* in such cases signifies 'how,' and implies not only that a thing is to be done, but also how it is to be done.

[3] *Genus* here is the same as *gens*, with which it is, in fact, etymologically identical.

[4] *Falces* are *falces murales*, or the iron hooks fastened to long poles, by means of which the besiegers endeavoured to pull down the walls. Compare vii. 81. The Gauls caught these hooks with slings, and kept them away from the walls (*destinabant*), and then dragged them, by means of ropes (*tormenta*, from *torqueo*), into the town.

[5] *Subtrahebant;* that is, they dragged down the mound upon which the Roman fortifications stood, by undermining it, and thus causing it to break down.

[6] *Contabulare* properly signifies 'to join boards together so as to form a platform, or a storey in a tower;' *murum contabulare* therefore seems to mean 'to raise a wall by erecting towers on it.'

[7] That is, 'as much as the earth daily accumulated had raised our towers.'

[8] *Mali* are perpendicular beams, like masts; they were fixed (*commissi*) either in the walls, or in the towers already standing, and thus served to raise them.

quabant; et apertos cuniculos praeusta et praeacuta materia et pice fervefacta et maximi ponderis saxis morabantur[1] moenibusque appropinquare prohibebant.

23. Muris autem omnibus Gallicis haec fere forma est. Trabes directae, perpetuae[2] in longitudinem, paribus intervallis, distantes inter se binos pedes, in solo collocantur: hae revinciuntur introrsus[3] et multo aggere vestiuntur. Ea autem, quae diximus, intervalla grandibus in fronte saxis effarciuntur. His collocatis et coagmentatis, alius insuper ordo adjicitur, ut idem illud intervallum servetur, neque inter se contingant trabes, sed paribus intermissae spatiis, singulae singulis saxis interjectis, arte contineantur. Sic deinceps omne opus contexitur, dum justa muri altitudo expleatur. Hoc quum in speciem varietatemque opus deforme non est, alternis trabibus ac saxis,[4] quae rectis lineis suos ordines servant; tum ad utilitatem et defensionem urbium summam habet opportunitatem; quod et ab incendio lapis, et ab ariete materia defendit, quae perpetuis trabibus pedes quadragenos plerumque introrsus revincta, neque perrumpi, neque distrahi potest.

24. Iis tot rebus impedita oppugnatione, milites, quum toto tempore [luto], frigore et assiduis imbribus tardarentur, tamen continenti labore omnia haec superaverunt et diebus XXV. aggerem, latum pedes CCCXXX., altum pedes LXXX., exstruxerunt. Quum is murum hostium paene contingeret, et Caesar ad opus consuetudine[5] excubaret militesque cohortaretur, ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur; paullo ante tertiam vigiliam est animadversum, fumare aggerem, quem cuniculo hostes succenderant: eodemque tempore toto muro clamore sublato, duabus portis ab utroque latere turrium eruptio fiebat. Alii faces atque aridam ma-

[1] *Morari cuniculos*, to obstruct the passages of the *cuniculi* made by the Romans, so that they could not approach the walls.

[2] *Perpetuus*, 'uninterrupted,' 'unbroken,' 'solid,' or 'so joined together as to appear to be of one piece.'

[3] *Revinciuntur introrsus*, 'they are joined together by other beams, placed transversely; the spaces between these beams being filled up with earth and stones.'

[4] *Alternis trabibus ac saxis* is the ablative absolute, 'beams and stones alternating.'

[5] *Consuetudine;* that is, *pro sua consuetudine*, 'as he was wont to do.' The ablative is the ablative of cause.

teriem de muro in aggerem eminus jaciebant, picem reliquasque res, quibus ignis excitari potest, fundebant; ut, quo primum occurreretur, aut cui rei ferretur auxilium, vix ratio iniri posset. Tamen, quod instituto Caesaris duae semper legiones pro castris excubabant, pluresque[1] partitis temporibus erant in opere, celeriter factum est, ut alii eruptionibus resisterent, alii turres reducerent[2] aggeremque interscinderent,[3] omnis vero ex castris multitudo ad restinguendum concurreret.

25. Quum in omnibus locis, consumta jam reliqua parte noctis, pugnaretur, semperque hostibus spes victoriae redintegraretur; eo magis, quod deustos pluteos turrium videbant, nec facile adire apertos[4] ad auxiliandum animadvertebant; semperque ipsi recentes defessis succederent, omnemque Galliae salutem in illo vestigio temporis positam arbitrarentur: accidit, inspectantibus nobis, quod, dignum memoria visum, praetermittendum non existimavimus. Quidam ante portam oppidi Gallus, qui per manus[5] sevi ac picis traditas glebas in ignem e regione turris projiciebat, scorpione[6] ab latere dextro transjectus exanimatusque concidit. Hunc ex proximis unus jacentem transgressus, eodem illo munere fungebatur: eadem ratione ictu scorpionis exanimato altero, successit tertius et tertio quartus; nec prius ille est a propugnatoribus vacuus relictus locus, quam restincto aggere atque omni parte submotis hostibus finis est pugnandi factus.

26. Omnia experti Galli, quod res nulla successerat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere, hortante et jubente Vercingetorige. Id silentio noctis conati, non magna jactura suorum sese effecturos sperabant, propterea quod neque longe ab oppido castra Vercingetorigis aberant, et

[1] *Pluresque;* supply *legiones.*

[2] *Reducere* is 'to roll back,' for the movable towers stood on wheels.

[3] *Interscinderent,* 'that they intersected the mound;' that is, that they separated the part which was undermined, and contained combustible materials, from that part which was not yet undermined.

[4] *Apertus* here is 'unprotected by the *plutei.*'

[5] The Gauls formed a line, in which those balls were handed from the one to the other, until the last threw them into the burning tower of the Romans.

[6] The *scorpio* was a missile, thrown by the hand; it was small, but with very sharp points, so that they penetrated deep into the body, and produced fatal wounds.

palus perpetua, quae intercedebat, Romanos ad insequendum tardabat. Jamque hoc facere noctu apparabant, quum matres familiae repente in publicum procurrerunt flentesque, projectae ad pedes suorum, omnibus precibus petierunt, ne se et communes liberos hostibus ad supplicium dederent, quos ad capiendam fugam naturae et virium infirmitas impediret. Ubi eos in sententia perstare viderunt, quod plerumque in summo periculo timor misericordiam non recipit, conclamare et significare de fuga Romanis coeperunt. Quo timore perterriti Galli, ne ab equitatu Romanorum viae praeoccuparentur, consilio destiterunt.

27. Postero die Caesar, promota turri directisque[1] operibus, quae facere instituerat, magno coorto imbri, non inutilem hanc ad capiendum consilium tempestatem arbitratus, quod paullo incautius custodias in muro dispositas videbat, suos quoque languidius in opere versari jussit, et quid fieri vellet, ostendit. Legiones intra vineas in occulto[2] expeditas cohortatur, ut aliquando pro tantis laboribus fructum victoriae perciperent: his, qui primi murum adscendissent, praemia proposuit militibusque signum dedit. Illi subito ex omnibus partibus evolaverunt murumque celeriter compleverunt.

28. Hostes, re nova perterriti, muro turribusque dejecti, in foro ac locis patentioribus cuneatim constiterunt, hoc animo, ut, si qua ex parte obviam contra[3] veniretur, acie instructa depugnarent. Ubi neminem in aequum locum sese demittere, sed toto undique muro circumfundi[4] viderunt, veriti, ne omnino spes fugae tolleretur, abjectis armis, ultimas oppidi partes continenti impetu[5] petiverunt: parsque ibi, quum angusto portarum exitu se ipsi premerent, a militibus, pars jam egressa portis ab equitibus est interfecta: nec fuit quisquam, qui praedae studeret. Sic et Genabensi caede et labore

[1] *Directis;* namely, against those parts of the wall where they might produce the greatest effect.

[2] *In occulto* is an explanation of *intra vineas;* Caesar addressed them while they were within the vineae, and could not be seen by the enemy.

[3] *Obviam* and *contra* apparently form a pleonasm, but *obviam* seems to indicate only the direction, whereas *contra* the intention.

[4] *Circumfundi;* supply *hostes,* which is implied in the preceding *neminem.*

[5] *Continenti impetu;* that is, *cursu non intermisso,* 'they ran without stopping, until they reached,' &c.

operis incitati, non aetate confectis, non mulieribus, non infantibus pepercerunt. Denique ex omni eo numero, qui fuit circiter XL. milium, vix DCCC., qui primo clamore audito se ex oppido ejecerant, incolumes ad Vercingetorigem pervenerunt. Quos ille, multa jam nocte, silentio ex fuga excepit, (veritus, ne qua in castris ex eorum concursu et misericordia vulgi seditio oriretur) ut, procul in via dispositis familiaribus suis principibusque civitatum, disparandos[1] deducendosque ad suos curaret, quae[2] cuique civitati pars castrorum ab initio obvenerat.

29. Postero die concilio convocato, consolatus cohortatusque est, ne se admodum animo demitterent,[3] neve perturbarentur incommodo: non virtute neque in acie vicisse Romanos, sed artificio quodam et scientia oppugnationis, cujus rei fuerint ipsi imperiti: errare, si qui in bello omnes secundos rerum proventus exspectent: sibi numquam placuisse, Avaricum defendi, cujus rei testes ipsos haberet; sed factum imprudentia Biturigum et nimia obsequentia reliquorum, uti hoc incommodum acciperetur: id tamen se celeriter majoribus commodis sanaturum. Nam, quae ab reliquis Gallis civitates dissentirent, has sua diligentia adjuncturum atque unum consilium totius Galliae effecturum, cujus consensu[4] ne orbis quidem terrarum possit obsistere: idque se prope jam effectum habere. Interea aequum esse, ab iis communis salutis causa impetrari, ut castra munire instituerent, quo facilius repentinos hostium impetus sustinere possent.

30. Fuit haec oratio non ingrata Gallis, maxime, quod ipse animo non defecerat, tanto accepto incommodo, neque se in occultum abdiderat et conspectum multitudinis fugerat: plusque animo providere et praesentire existimabatur, quod, re integra,[5] primo incendendum Avaricum, post deserendum cen-

[1] *Disparandos;* that is, *separandos* or *dispertiendos:* 'he took care that they should be separated according to the tribes to which they belonged, and that each should be taken to the men of his own tribe in the camp.'

[2] Before *quae* we must supply *in eam partem*, which, however, is implied in *ad suos*.

[3] *Se animo demittere* is the same as *animum abjicere*, 'to lose courage.' *Admodum* is 'up to a certain measure,' and here 'up to the measure to which they actually seemed to lose courage;' hence 'to such a degree.'

[4] For *consensui*, see vi. 42, note 5.

[5] *Re integra*, 'before the affair;' that is, before the siege of Avaricum.

suerat. Itaque ut reliquorum imperatorum res adversae auctoritatem minuunt, sic hujus ex contrario dignitas, incommodo accepto, in dies augebatur: simul in spem veniebant ejus affirmatione de reliquis adjungendis civitatibus, primumque eo tempore Galli castra munire instituerunt, et sic sunt animo consternati,[1] homines insueti laboris, ut omnia, quae imperarentur, sibi patienda et perferenda existimarent.

31. Nec minus, quam est pollicitus, Vercingetorix animo laborabat,[2] ut reliquas civitates adjungeret, atque earum principes donis pollicitationibusque alliciebat. Huic rei idoneos homines deligebat, quorum quisque aut oratione subdola, aut amicitia facillime capi posset. Qui Avarico expugnato refugerant, armandos vestiendosque curat. Simul ut deminutae copiae redintegrarentur, imperat certum numerum militum civitatibus, quem et quam ante diem in castra adduci velit;[3] sagittariosque omnes, quorum erat permagnus in Gallia numerus, conquiri et ad se mitti jubet. His rebus celeriter id, quod Avarici deperierat, expletur. Interim Teutomatus, Olloviconis filius, rex Nitiobrigum, cujus pater ab senatu nostro amicus erat appellatus, cum magno equitum suorum numero, et quos ex Aquitania conduxerat,[4] ad eum pervenit.

32. Caesar, Avarici complures dies commoratus, summamque ibi copiam frumenti et reliqui commeatus nactus, exercitum ex labore atque inopia refecit. Jam prope hieme confecta, quum ipso anni tempore ad gerendum bellum vocaretur et ad hostem proficisci constituisset, sive eum ex paludibus silvisque elicere, sive obsidione premere posset; legati ad eum principes Aeduorum veniunt oratum, ut maxime necessario tempore[5] civitati subveniat: summo esse in periculo rem;[6] quod, quum singuli magistratus antiquitus creari atque regiam potestatem annuam obtinere consuessent, duo magistratum gerant et se uterque eorum legibus creatum esse dicat.

[1] *Consternatus* is 'roused,' and the same as *erecti* or *concitati*, which are more commonly used in this sense. Compare Livy, vii. 42.

[2] *Animo laborare*, 'seriously to exert one's-self.'

[3] That is, *quem adduci velit, et ante quam diem adduci velit, constituit;* the last of these words seems to be implied in the preceding *imperat.*

[4] *Conducere*, when used of soldiers, signifies 'to hire mercenaries,' the word *mercede* being understood.

[5] *Necessarium tempus* is often used in the sense of a time at which there is an urgent necessity for something.

[6] *Rem;* supply *publicam:* the state of the Aedui.

Horum esse alterum Convictolitanem, florentem et illustrem adolescentem; alterum Cotum, antiquissima familia natum, atque ipsum hominem summae potentiae et magnae cognationis;[1] cujus frater Valetiacus proximo anno eumdem magistratum gesserit: civitatem omnem esse in armis, divisum senatum, divisum populum, suas cujusque eorum clientelas. Quod si diutius alatur controversia, fore, uti pars cum parte civitatis confligat; id ne accidat, positum in ejus diligentia atque auctoritate.

33. Caesar, etsi a bello atque hoste discedere detrimentosum[2] esse existimabat, tamen non ignorans, quanta ex dissensionibus incommoda oriri consuessent, ne tanta et tam conjuncta populo Romano civitas, quam ipse semper aluisset,[3] omnibusque rebus ornasset, ad vim atque ad arma descenderet, atque ea pars, quae minus sibi confideret, auxilia a Vercingetorige arcesseret, huic rei praevertendum existimavit; et quod legibus Aeduorum his, qui summum magistratum obtinerent, excedere ex finibus non liceret, ne quid de jure aut de legibus eorum deminuisse videretur, ipse in Aeduos proficisci statuit senatumque omnem, et quos inter controversia esset, ad se Decetiam[4] evocavit. Quum prope omnis civitas eo convenisset, doceretur que, paucis clam convocatis, alio loco, alio tempore, atque oportuerit, fratrem a fratre renunciatum,[5] quum leges duo ex una familia, vivo utroque, non solum magistratus creari vetarent, sed etiam in senatu esse prohiberent; Cotum imperium deponere coegit; Convictolitanem, qui per sacerdotes more civitatis, intermissis[6] magistratibus, esset creatus, potestatem obtinere jussit.

34. Hoc decreto interposito, cohortatus Aeduos, ut contro-

[1] *Cognatio* is what we call 'family connexion;' the meaning is, 'he had many and powerful relations.'

[2] *Detrimentosum* occurs only in this passage, and signifies 'very detrimental' or 'injurious.'

[3] *Alere* here signifies 'to favour' or 'support.'

[4] *Decetia* is an island in the river Ligeris (Loire), and the same is now called Decise.

[5] *Renunciare*, 'to elect' or 'create,' but the proper meaning is, 'to announce that a person has been elected.'

[6] *Intermissis magistratibus* is explained by some, 'without the participation of the magistrates,' who were to have been excluded from these elections; but it seems more probable that the meaning is, 'at the time when there was no magistrate; that is, when the magistrate had died, and when there was a vacancy.'

versiarum ac dissensionum obliviscerentur atque omnibus omissis his rebus huic bello servirent, eaque, quae meruissent, praemia ab se devicta Gallia exspectarent, equitatumque omnem et peditum milia x. sibi celeriter mitterent, quae in praesidiis rei frumentariae causa disponeret, exercitum in duas partes divisit: iv. legiones in Senones Parisiosque Labieno ducendas dedit; vi. ipse in Arvernos, ad oppidum Gergoviam secundum flumen[1] Elaver duxit: equitatus partem illi attribuit, partem sibi reliquit. Qua re cognita, Vercingetorix, omnibus interruptis ejus fluminis pontibus, ab altera Elaveris parte iter facere coepit.

35. Quum uterque utrique esset exercitus in conspectu fereque e regione[2] castris castra poneret, dispositis exploratoribus, necubi effecto ponte Romani copias transducerent, erat in magnis Caesari difficultatibus res, ne majorem aestatis partem flumine impediretur; quod non fere ante autumnum Elaver vado transiri solet. Itaque, ne id accideret, silvestri loco castris positis, e regione unius eorum pontium, quos Vercingetorix rescindendos curaverat, postero die cum duabus legionibus in occulto restitit;[3] reliquas copias cum omnibus impedimentis, ut consueverat, misit, captis [quartis] quibusque cohortibus,[4] uti numerus legionum constare videretur. His[5] quam longissime possent progredi jussis, quum jam ex diei tempore conjecturam caperet, in castra perventum, iisdem sublicis, quarum pars inferior integra remanebat, pontem reficere coepit. Celeriter effecto opere legionibusque transductis, et loco castris idoneo delecto, reliquas copias revocavit. Vercingetorix, re cognita, ne contra suam voluntatem dimicare cogeretur, magnis itineribus antecessit.

[1] *Secundum flumen*, 'along the bank of the river, and following its course.' The river Elaver is the modern Allier; it has its source in the Sevennes, and at Nevers flows into the Loire.

[2] *E regione*, 'opposite to,' is commonly construed with the genitive; but as *e regione ponere* is in sense the same as *opponere*, Caesar adopts the construction of *opponere*.

[3] *Restitit;* that is, *constitit* or *mansit*, 'he remained.'

[4] 'Having taken every fourth cohort from the sixty he had (for he had six legions, and each legion contained ten cohorts); so that he had fifteen cohorts; that is, two incomplete legions, which he kept back with him, for the purpose of restoring the bridge.'

[5] The *his* refers to the remaining troops, the two legions being kept back.

36. Caesar ex eo loco quintis castris[1] Gergoviam pervenit, equestrique proelio eo die levi facto, perspecto urbis situ, quae posita in altissimo monte omnes aditus difficiles habebat, de expugnatione desperavit; de obsessione non prius agendum[2] constituit, quam rem frumentariam expedisset. At Vercingetorix, castris prope oppidum in monte positis, mediocribus circum se intervallis separatim singularum civitatum copias collocaverat; atque omnibus ejus jugi collibus occupatis, qua despici poterat,[3] horribilem speciem praebebat: principesque earum civitatum, quos sibi ad consilium capiendum delegerat, prima luce quotidie ad se jubebat convenire, seu quid communicandum, seu quid administrandum videretur: neque ullum fere diem intermittebat, quin equestri proelio, interjectis sagittariis, quid in quoque esset animi ac virtutis suorum, periclitaretur. Erat e regione oppidi collis sub ipsis radicibus montis, egregie munitus atque ex omni parte circumcisus (quem si tenerent nostri, et aquae magna parte et pabulatione[4] libera prohibituri hostes videbantur; sed is locus praesidio ab iis non nimis firmo tenebatur); tamen[5] silentio noctis Caesar, ex castris egressus, prius quam subsidio ex oppido veniri posset, dejecto praesidio potitus loco, duas ibi legiones collocavit, fossamque duplicem duodenum pedum a majoribus castris ad minora perduxit, ut tuto ab repentino hostium incursu etiam singuli commeare possent.

37. Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Convictolitanis Aeduus, cui magistratum adjudicatum a Caesare demonstravimus,[6] sollicitatus ab Arvernis pecunia, cum quibusdam adolescentibus colloquitur, quorum erat princeps Litavicus atque ejus fratres, amplissima familia nati adolescentes. Cum iis

[1] A Roman army on its march pitched its camp every evening, to spend the night in it; whence *quintis castris* is equivalent to *quinto die*, or, 'after a journey of five days.'

[2] *Agendum;* that is, *cogitandum.*

[3] *Despici;* supply *in castra Romana.*

[4] According to the ordinary mode of speaking, we should here have *aqua* (that is, *ab aqua*) *magnam partem* (or *magna parte*, 'to a great extent'), *et pabulatione.* There is an irregularity in the use of the ablative *pabulatione* instead of the genitive *pabulationis*, dependent, like *aquae*, upon *magna parte.*

[5] *Tamen* here refers to the idea of 'although,' which is contained in the words *egregie munitus,* &c.

[6] See vii. 33.

praemium[1] communicat hortaturque, ut se liberos et imperio natos[2] meminerint; unam esse Aeduorum civitatem, quae certissimam Galliae victoriam distineat;[3] ejus auctoritate reliquas contineri; qua transducta,[4] locum consistendi Romanis in Gallia non fore: esse nonnullo se Caesaris beneficio affectum, sic tamen, ut justissimam apud eum causam obtinuerit;[5] sed plus communi libertati tribuere: cur enim potius Aedui de suo jure et de legibus ad Caesarem disceptatorem, quam Romani ad Aeduos veniant? Celeriter adolescentibus et oratione magistratus et praemio deductis, quum se vel[6] principes ejus consilii fore profiterentur, ratio perficiendi quaerebatur, quod civitatem temere ad suscipiendum bellum adduci posse non confidebant. Placuit, uti Litavicus decem illis milibus, quae Caesari ad bellum mitterentur, praeficeretur atque ea ducenda curaret, fratresque ejus ad Caesarem praecurrerent. Reliqua qua ratione agi placeat, constituunt.

38. Litavicus, accepto exercitu, quum milia passuum circiter XXX. ab Gergovia abesset, convocatis subito militibus, lacrimans, Quo proficiscimur, inquit, milites? Omnis noster equitatus, omnis nobilitas interiit: principes civitatis, Eporedirix et Virdumarus, insimulati proditionis, ab Romanis indicta causa[7] interfecti sunt. Haec ab iis cognoscite, qui ex ipsa caede fugerunt: nam ego, fratribus atque omnibus meis propinquis interfectis, dolore prohibeor, quae gesta sunt, pronunciare. Producuntur ii, quos ille edocuerat, quae dici vellet, atque eadem quae Litavicus pronunciaverat, multitudini exponunt: omnes equites Aeduorum interfectos, quod collocuti cum Arvernis dicerentur; ipsos se inter multitudinem militum occultasse atque ex media caede profugisse.

[1] The *praemium* probably consisted in the money by which he endeavoured to gain them over.

[2] *Imperio natos;* that is, *ad imperium natos*, or 'born to rule.'

[3] *Distinere*, properly, 'to keep asunder;' hence 'to prevent,' so that it becomes almost equivalent to *detinere*.

[4] That is, 'if that state were to be brought over to the side of Vercingetorix.

[5] That is, 'in such a manner, however, that he had maintained before him (Caesar) that which was due to him' (Convictolitanis). *Causam obtinere* is a judicial term, signifying 'to gain a lawsuit.'

[6] *Vel* here is 'even:' 'since they declared that they would even be the first to carry the design into effect.'

[7] *Indicta causa*, 'without having made their defence,' or 'without having had an opportunity of defending themselves.'

Conclamant Aedui et Litavicum, ut sibi consulat, obsecrant. Quasi vero,[1] inquit ille, consilii sit res, ac non necesse[2] sit nobis Gergoviam contendere et cum Arvernis nosmet conjungere. An dubitamus quin, nefario facinore admisso, Romani jam ad nos interficiendos concurrant? Proinde, si quid est in nobis animi, persequamur eorum mortem, qui indignissime interierunt, atque hos latrones interficiamus. Ostendit cives Romanos, qui ejus praesidii fiducia una[3] erant. Continuo magnum numerum frumenti commeatusque diripit, ipsos crudeliter excruciatos interficit: nuncios tota civitate Aeduorum dimittit, eodem mendacio de caede equitum et principum permovet: hortatur, ut simili ratione, atque ipse fecerit, suas injurias persequantur.

39. Eporedirix Aeduus, summo loco natus adolescens et summae domi potentiae, et una Virdumarus, pari aetate et gratia,[4] sed genere dispari, quem Caesar sibi ab Divitiaco traditum ex humili loco ad summam dignitatem perduxerat, in equitum numero convenerant, nominatim ab eo evocati. His erat inter se de principatu contentio, et in illa magistratuum controversia alter pro Convictolitane, alter pro Coto summis opibus[5] pugnaverant. Ex iis Eporedirix, cognito Litavici consilio, media fere nocte rem ad Caesarem defert; orat, ne patiatur, civitatem pravis adolescentium consiliis ab amicitia populi Romani deficere, quod futurum provideat, si se tot hominum milia cum hostibus conjunxerint, quorum salutem neque propinqui negligere, neque civitas levi momento aestimare posset.

40. Magna affectus sollicitudine hoc nuncio Caesar, quod semper Aeduorum civitati praecipue indulserat, nulla interposita dubitatione[6] legiones expeditas quatuor equitatumque omnem ex castris educit: nec fuit spatium tali tempore ad

[1] *Quasi vero* is an ironical expression, answering to our 'as if, indeed.' See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.* § 572.

[2] *Ac non necesse;* that is, *ac non potius sit necessitatis.*

[3] *Fiducia una;* that is, *fiducia sola,* 'the only ones on whom they could rely.'

[4] *Gratia;* namely, *apud populum;* that is, 'favour,' 'influence,' or 'popularity with his countrymen.'

[5] *Summis opibus;* that is, *summo labore,* or, 'with the greatest exertions.'

[6] *Dubitatio* is here used in the sense of *mora,* which is the result of *dubitatio,* and the whole expression is equivalent to *sine mora.*

contrahenda castra, quod res posita in celeritate videbatur. C. Fabium legatum cum legionibus duabus castris praesidio relinquit. Fratres Litavici quum comprehendi jussisset, paullo ante reperit ad hostes profugisse. Adhortatus milites, ne necessario tempore[1] itineris labore permoveantur,[2] cupidissimis omnibus,[3] progressus milia passuum XXV., agmen Aeduorum conspicatus, immisso equitatu, iter eorum moratur atque impedit, interdicitque omnibus, ne quemquam interficiant. Eporedirigem et Virdumarum, quos illi interfectos existimabant, inter equites versari suosque appellare jubet. Iis cognitis et Litavici fraude perspecta, Aedui manus tendere deditionem significare et projectis armis mortem deprecari incipiunt. Litavicus cum suis clientibus, quibus more Gallorum nefas est, etiam in extrema fortuna[4] deserere patronos, Gergoviam profugit.

41. Caesar, nunciis ad civitatem Aeduorum missis, qui suo beneficio conservatos docerent, quos[5] jure belli interficere potuisset, tribusque horis noctis exercitui ad quietem datis, castra ad Gergoviam movit. Medio fere itinere equites, ab Fabio missi, quanto res in periculo fuerit, exponunt; summis copiis castra oppugnata demonstrant; quum crebro integri defessis succederent nostrosque assiduo labore defatigarent, quibus propter magnitudinem castrorum perpetuo esset eisdem[6] in vallo permanendum; multitudine sagittarum atque omni genere telorum multos vulneratos: ad haec sustinenda magno usui fuisse tormenta: Fabium discessu eorum,[7] duabus relictis portis, obstruere ceteras, pluteosque vallo addere et se in posterum diem similem ad casum parare. His rebus cognitis, Caesar summo studio militum ante ortum solis in castra pervenit.

1 *Necessario tempore.* See vii. 32, note 5.

2 *Permoveantur*, 'that they might not be uneasy,' or 'alarmed.'

3 *Cupidissimis omnibus*, 'all being most anxious;' namely, to set out, in consequence of Caesar's exhortation.

4 *Fortuna* is here *mala fortuna*, 'in extreme misfortune.'

5 *Quos;* that is, *quum eos.*

6 *Eisdem;* that is, they had been obliged to remain on the rampart, and as they were few in number, the work had to be done always by the same persons; whereas among the enemies, the place of the fatigued soldiers had been taken by those who were yet fresh.

7 *Eorum;* that is, *hostium*, for, previous to the departure of the enemies, Fabius could not have devoted himself to these preparations.

42. Dum haec ad Gergoviam geruntur, Aedui, primis nunciis ab Litavico acceptis, nullum sibi ad cognoscendum spatium relinquunt. Impellit alios avaritia, alios iracundia et temeritas, quae maxime illi hominum generi[1] est innata, ut levem auditionem habeant pro re comperta. Bona civium Romanorum diripiunt, caedes faciunt, in servitutem abstrahunt. Adjuvat rem proclinatam[2] Convictolitanis plebemque ad furorem impellit, ut facinore admisso, ad sanitatem[3] pudeat reverti. M. Aristium tribunum militum, iter ad legionem facientem, data fide ex oppido Cabillono[4] educunt:[5] idem facere cogunt eos, qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant. Hos continuo in itinere adorti, omnibus impedimentis exuunt; repugnantes diem noctemque obsident; multis utrimque interfectis, majorem multitudinem ad arma concitant.

43. Interim nuncio allato, omnes eorum milites in potestate Caesaris teneri, concurrunt ad Aristium; nihil publico factum consilio demonstrant; quaestionem de bonis direptis decernunt;[6] Litavici fratrumque bona publicant; legatos ad Caesarem sui purgandi gratia mittunt. Haec faciunt recuperandorum suorum causa: sed contaminati facinore et capti compendio[7] ex direptis bonis, quod ea res[8] ad multos pertinebat, et timore poenae exterriti, consilia clam de bello inire incipiunt civitatesque reliquas legationibus sollicitant. Quae tametsi Caesar intelligebat, tamen, quam mitissime potest, legatos appellat: nihil se propter inscientiam levitatemque vulgi gravius de civitate judicare, neque de sua in Aeduos

[1] *Illi hominum generi;* that is, *illi genti;* namely, to the Gauls. Respecting their curiosity and credulity, see iv. 5.

[2] *Res proclinata* is an affair which is already inclining towards an unfavourable issue.

[3] *Sanitas;* that is, *sana mens.* See i. 42.

[4] *Cabillonum*, an important town on the river Arar (Saone), is the modern Chalons sur Saone.

[5] *Educunt*; that is, 'they induced' or 'obliged him to go out.'

[6] *Quaestionem decernunt*, 'they determine that an investigation should be instituted.'

[7] *Capti compendio;* that is, 'captivated or led by the gain;' for *compendium* (from *cum* and *pendere*) is properly the profit which the purchaser makes, in receiving somewhat more than the weight which is due to him, or a gain which a person makes by saving or economising, and then gain, profit, or advantage in general.

[8] *Ea res;* namely, the *bonorum direptio*, in which many persons had taken part.

benevolentia deminuere.[1] Ipse majorem Galliae motum exspectans, ne ab omnibus civitatibus circumsisteretur, consilia inibat, quemadmodum ab Gergovia discederet ac rursus omnem exercitum contraheret; ne profectio, nata ab timore defectionis, similis fugae videretur.

44. Haec cogitanti accidere visa est facultas bene gerendae rei. Nam quum minora in castra[2] operis perspiciendi causa venisset, animadvertit collem, qui ab hostibus tenebatur, nudatum hominibus, qui superioribus diebus vix prae multitudine cerni poterat. Admiratus quaerit ex perfugis causam, quorum magnus ad eum quotidie numerus confluebat. Constabat inter omnes, quod jam ipse Caesar per exploratores cognoverat, dorsum esse ejus jugi prope aequum; sed hac silvestre et angustum, qua esset aditus ad alteram oppidi partem: huic loco vehementer illos timere, nec jam aliter sentire,[3] uno colle ab Romanis occupato, si alterum amisissent, quin paene circumvallati atque omni exitu et pabulatione interclusi viderentur: ad hunc muniendum locum omnes a Vercingetorige evocatos.

45. Hac re cognita, Caesar mittit complures equitum turmas eo de media nocte: iis imperat, ut paullo tumultuosius omnibus in locis pervagarentur. Prima luce magnum numerum impedimentorum[4] ex castris mulorumque produci, eque iis stramenta detrahi, mulionesque cum cassidibus, equitum specie ac simulatione, collibus circumvehi jubet. His paucos addit equites, qui latius ostentationis causa vagarentur. Longo circuitu easdem omnes jubet petere regiones. Haec procul ex oppido videbantur, ut[5] erat a Gergovia despectus in castra; neque tanto spatio, certi quid esset, explorari poterat. Legionem unam eodem jugo[6] mittit et paullo

[1] *Deminuere;* supply *quidquam.* Compare i. 53.

[2] The *minora castra* is that mentioned at the end of chap. 36, which consisted of two legions.

[3] That is, 'and they had no doubt;' whence the following *quin*, which cannot follow after *sentire* in its usual sense.

[4] *Impedimenta* here seem to be the animals, mules, which carried the *impedimenta* (baggage), so that the *que* has only explanatory power. *Stramenta* are the things with which the mules are covered; that is, the burdens they carry, or the baggage.

[5] *Ut*, 'as far as.' Compare iv. 3.

[6] The dative *jugo* is the same as *ad* or *versus jugum*, and *jugo* stands in apposition to *eodem*, 'thither.'

progressam inferiore constituit loco silvisque occultat. Augetur Gallis suspicio atque omnes illo ad munitionem copiae transducuntur. Vacua castra hostium Caesar conspicatus, tectis insignibus[1] suorum, occultatisque signis militaribus, raros milites, ne ex oppido animadverterentur, ex majoribus castris in minora transducit legatisque, quos singulis legionibus praefecerat, quid fieri vellet, ostendit: in primis monet, ut contineant milites, ne studio pugnandi aut spe praedae longius progrediantur: quid iniquitas loci habeat incommodi, proponit: hoc una celeritate posse vitari: occasionis esse rem, non proelii.[2] His rebus expositis, signum dat et ab dextra parte alio ascensu eodem tempore Aeduos mittit.

46. Oppidi murus ab planitie atque initio adscensus, recta regione,[3] si nullus amfractus intercederet, MCC. passus aberat, quidquid huic circuitus ad molliendum[4] clivum accesserat, id spatium itineris augebat. At medio fere colle in longitudinem, ut natura montis ferebat, ex grandibus saxis sex pedum murum, qui nostrorum impetum tardaret, praeduxerant Galli, atque inferiore omni spatio vacuo relicto, superiorem partem collis usque ad murum oppidi densissimis castris[5] compleverant. Milites, dato signo, celeriter ad munitionem perveniunt, eamque transgressi, trinis castris potiuntur. Ac tanta fuit in castris capiendis celeritas, ut Teutomatus, rex Nitiobrigum, subito in tabernaculo oppressus, ut meridie conquieverat, superiore corporis parte nudata, vulnerato equo, vix se ex manibus praedantium militum eriperet.

47. Consecutus id quod animo proposuerat, Caesar receptui cani[6] jussit legionisque decimae, quacum erat concionatus,[7]

[1] Respecting the *insignia*, see ii. 21, note 1.

[2] That is, 'the hill could be taken only by their availing themselves of a favourable opportunity, and not by force.'

[3] *Recta regione*, 'in a straight line.'

[4] *Ad molliendum clivum*, 'to softening the ascent of the hill;' that is, rendering it less difficult.

[5] *Densissima castra* are several (here three) camps put together as closely as possible, and each occupying as small a space as was practicable.

[6] *Cani;* supply *tuba*, 'with the trumpet,' for *canere* is used no less of musical instruments than of sounds produced by the human voice. *Receptui canere*, or *receptui signum dare*, is 'to give the signal for a retreat.'

[7] *Concionari cum aliquo* is a rare construction instead of *apud aliquem*, with which it has the same meaning.

signa constitere. At reliquarum milites legionum, non exaudito tubae sono, quod satis magna vallis intercedebat, tamen[1] ab tribunis militum legatisque, ut erat a Caesare praeceptum, retinebantur: sed elati spe celeris victoriae et hostium fuga superiorumque temporum secundis proeliis, nihil adeo arduum sibi existimabant, quod non virtute consequi possent; neque prius finem sequendi fecerunt, quam muro oppidi portisque appropinquarent. Tum vero ex omnibus urbis partibus orto clamore, qui longius aberant, repentino tumultu perterriti, quum hostem intra portas esse existimarent, sese ex oppido ejecerunt. Matres familiae de muro vestem argentumque jactabant, et pectoris fine[2] prominentes, passis manibus obtestabantur Romanos, ut sibi parcerent, neu, sicut Avarici fecissent, ne mulieribus quidem atque infantibus abstinerent. Nonnullae de muris per manus demissae sese militibus tradebant. L. Fabius, centurio legionis VIII., quem inter suos eo die dixisse constabat, excitari se Avaricensibus praemiis,[3] neque commissurum, ut prius quisquam murum ascenderet, tres suos nactus manipulares atque ab iis sublevatus murum ascendit. Eos ipse rursus singulos exceptans, in murum extulit.

48. Interim ii, qui ad alteram partem oppidi, ut supra demonstravimus, munitionis causa convenerant,[4] primo exaudito clamore, inde etiam crebris nunciis incitati, oppidum ab Romanis teneri,[5] praemissis equitibus, magno concursu eo contenderunt. Eorum ut quisque primus venerat, sub muro consistebat suorumque pugnantium numerum augebat. Quorum quum magna multitudo convenisset, matres familiae, quae paullo ante Romanis de muro manus tendebant suos obtestari[6] et more Gallico passum capillum ostentare liberosque in conspectum proferre coeperunt. Erat Romanis nec loco nec numero aequa contentio: simul et cursu et spatio pugnae[7] defatigati non facile recentes atque integros sustinebant.

1 *Tamen* here refers to a *quamvis*, implied in the ablative absolute, *non exaudito sono.*

2 *Pectoris fine;* that is, *pectore tenus*, 'up to their breasts.'

3 That is, 'by the rewards which Caesar had given to his soldiers at Avaricum.'

4 See vii. 44.

5 *Oppidum teneri;* this accusative with the infinitive depends upon the preceding word *nunciis.*

6 Supply 'that they might fight bravely against the Romans.'

7 *Spatio pugnae*, 'by the long duration or continuance of the fight.'

49. Caesar quum iniquo loco pugnari hostiumque augeri copias videret, praemetuens suis, ad T. Sextium legatum, quem minoribus castris praesidio reliquerat, mittit, ut cohortes ex castris celeriter educeret et sub infimo colle ab dextro latere hostium constitueret: ut, si nostros loco depulsos vidisset, quo minus libere hostes insequerentur, terreret.[1] Ipse paullum ex eo loco cum legione progressus, ubi constiterat, eventum pugnae exspectabat.

50. Quum acerrime comminus pugnaretur, hostes loco et numero, nostri virtute confiderent: subito sunt Aedui visi, ab latere nostris aperto,[2] quos Caesar ab dextra parte alio ascensu manus distinendae causa miserat. Hi similitudine armorum[3] vehementer nostros perterruerunt: ac tametsi dextris humeris exsertis[4] animadvertebantur, quod insigne pacatis esse consuerat, tamen id ipsum sui fallendi causa milites ab hostibus factum existimabant. Eodem tempore L. Fabius centurio quique una murum ascenderant, circumventi atque interfecti de muro praecipitantur. M. Petreius, ejusdem legionis centurio, quum portas excidere[5] conatus esset, a multitudine oppressus ac sibi desperans, multis jam vulneribus acceptis, manipularibus suis, qui illum secuti erant, Quoniam, inquit, me una vobiscum servare non possum, vestrae quidem certe vitae prospiciam, quos cupiditate gloriae adductus in periculum deduxi. Vos, data facultate, vobis consulite. Simul in medios hostis irrupit, duobusque interfectis, reliquos a porta paullum submovit. Conantibus auxiliari suis, frustra, inquit, meae vitae subvenire conamini, quem[6] jam sanguis viresque deficiunt: proinde hinc abite, dum est facultas, vosque ad legionem recipite. Ita pugnans post paullum concidit ac suis saluti fuit.

1 *Terreret;* supply *eos* or *hostes;* the *quo minus* is the same as *ut eo minus.*

2 'On the side where our flanks were open or accessible;' that is, where they could reach our men.

3 The armour of the Aedui of course was the same, or similar to that of the other Gauls, and accordingly the Romans were frightened at their appearance.

4 *Exsertus* is the same as *nudatus*, for the Gauls, in times of peace, used to have their shoulders and breasts uncovered.

5 *Excidere* (from *ex* and *caedo*), 'to cut a piece out of a thing,' or 'to break through;' hence the same here as *perrumpere* or *perfringere.*

6 *Quem* refers to *ego*, which is implied in *meae vitae.*

51. Nostri, quum undique premerentur, XLVI. centurionibus amissis, dejecti sunt loco: sed intolerantius[1] Gallos insequentes legio X. tardavit, quae pro subsidio paullo aequiore loco constiterat. Hanc rursus XIII. legionis cohortes exceperunt,[2] quae ex castris minoribus eductae, cum T. Sextio legato locum ceperant superiorem. Legiones, ubi primum planitiem attigerunt, infestis[3] contra hostes signis constiterunt. Vercingetorix ab radicibus collis suos intra munitiones reduxit. Eo die milites sunt paullo minus DCC. desiderati.

52. Postero die Caesar, concione advocata, temeritatem cupiditatemque militum reprehendit, quod sibi ipsi[4] judicavissent, quo procedendum, aut quid agendum videretur, neque signo recipiendi[5] dato constitissent, neque ab tribunis militum legatisque retineri potuissent: exposito,[6] quid iniquitas loci posset, quid ipse ad Avaricum sensisset, quum, sine duce et sine equitatu deprehensis hostibus, exploratam victoriam dimisisset, ne parvum modo detrimentum in contentione propter iniquitatem loci accideret. Quanto opere eorum animi magnitudinem admiraretur, quos non castrorum munitiones, non altitudo montis, non murus oppidi tardare potuisset; tanto opere licentiam arrogantiamque reprehendere, quod plus se quam imperatorem de victoria atque exitu rerum sentire[7] existimarent: nec minus se in milite modestiam[8] et continentiam, quam virtutem atque animi magnitudinem desiderare.

53. Hac habita concione et ad extremum oratione confirmatis militibus, ne ob hanc causam animo permoverentur, neu, quod iniquitas loci attulisset, id virtuti hostium tribue-

[1] *Intolerantius;* that is, 'rather impetuously,' *intolerans* here being synonymous with *impotens*, 'one who cannot control himself.'

[2] *Excipere*, 'to relieve.'

[3] *Infestis signis* is almost the same as *conversis signis*, 'they turned against the enemy, and made a stand.'

[4] *Ipsi* is the nominative, 'they themselves having taken upon themselves to judge what was to be done, instead of leaving that judgment to others.'

[5] *Recipiendi;* supply *sui* or *se*.

[6] *Exposito*, an ablative absolute, 'after he had explained.' See Zumpt, *Lat. Gram.*, § 647.

[7] *Plus sentire*, 'to have a better insight or knowledge.'

[8] *Modestia*, in the case of a soldier, is 'obedience,' or 'the keeping within the limits of the orders given by the commander.' Compare Livy, xxxviii. 24.

rent; eadem de profectione cogitans, quae ante senserat, legiones ex castris eduxit aciemque idoneo loco constituit. Quum Vercingetorix nihilo magis in aequum locum descenderet, levi facto equestri proelio atque eo[1] secundo, in castra exercitum reduxit. Quum hoc idem postero die fecisset, satis ad Gallicam ostentationem minuendam militumque animos confirmandos factum existimans, in Aeduos castra movit. Ne tum quidem insecutis hostibus, tertio die ad flumen Elaver[2] pontem refecit atque exercitum transduxit.

54. Ibi a Virdumaro atque Eporedirige Aeduis appellatus,[3] discit cum omni equitatu Litavicum ad sollicitandos Aeduos profectum: opus esse et ipsos antecedere ad confirmandam civitatem. Etsi multis jam rebus perfidiam Aeduorum perspectam habebat, atque horum discessu admaturari[4] defectionem civitatis existimabat: tamen eos retinendos non censuit, ne aut inferre injuriam videretur, aut dare timoris aliquam suspicionem. Discedentibus his breviter sua in Aeduos merita exponit: quos[5] et quam humiles accepisset, compulsos in oppida, multatos agris, omnibus ereptis copiis, imposito stipendio, obsidibus summa cum contumelia extortis; et quam in fortunam quamque in amplitudinem deduxisset, ut non solum in pristinum statum redissent, sed omnium temporum dignitatem et gratiam[6] antecessisse viderentur. His datis mandatis, eos ab se dimisit.

55. Noviodunum[7] erat oppidum Aeduorum, ad ripas Ligeris opportuno loco positum. Huc Caesar omnes obsides Galliae, frumentum, pecuniam publicam, suorum atque exercitus impedimentorum magnam partem contulerat: huc magnum numerum equorum, hujus belli causa in Italia atque Hispania coemtum, miserat. Eo quum Eporedirix Virdumarusque ve-

[1] *Atque eo*, 'and that a successful one,' for *atque* here has explanatory power.

[2] See vii. 34, note 1.

[3] *Appellare* here has the sense of *alloqui* or *adire*.

[4] *Admaturari*, a rare form, on the analogy of *adamare*, *addubitare*, and similar verbs. The preposition *ad* strengthens the meaning, so that *admaturari* is equivalent to *valde maturari*, 'to accelerate greatly.'

[5] *Quos* has the same meaning as *quales*.

[6] *Gratia* in an active sense is 'influence' or 'power.'

[7] *Noviodunum* is the modern town of Nevers on the Loire, and must be distinguished from Noviodunum of the Bituriges, vii. 12, and from Noviodunum of the Suessiones, the modern Soissons.

nissent et de statu civitatis cognovissent,[1] Litavicum Bibracte[2] ab Aeduis receptum, quod est oppidum apud eos maximae auctoritatis, Convictolitanem magistratum magnamque partem senatus ad eum convenisse, legatos ad Vercingetorigem de pace et amicitia concilianda publice missos: non praetermittendum tantum commodum existimaverunt. Itaque, interfectis Novioduni custodibus, quique[3] eo negotiandi aut itineris causa[4] convenerant, pecuniam atque equos inter se partiti sunt; obsides civitatum Bibracte ad magistratum deducendos curaverunt; oppidum, quod ab se teneri non posse judicabant, ne cui esset usui Romanis, incenderunt; frumenti quod[5] subito potuerunt navibus avexerunt, reliquum flumine atque incendio corruperunt; ipsi ex finitimis regionibus copias cogere, praesidia custodiasque ad ripas Ligeris disponere, equitatumque omnibus locis, injiciendi timoris causa, ostentare coeperunt, si ab re frumentaria Romanos excludere, aut adductos[6] inopia ex provincia excludere possent. Quam ad spem multum eos adjuvabat, quod Liger ex nivibus creverat, ut omnino vado non posse transiri videretur.

56. Quibus rebus cognitis, Caesar maturandum sibi censuit, si esset in perficiendis pontibus periclitandum, ut prius quam essent majores eo coactae copiae, dimicaret. Nam, ut[7] commutato consilio iter in provinciam converteret, ut non nemo tunc quidem necessario faciundum existimabat, quum infamia atque indignitas rei et oppositus mons Cevenna viar-

[1] *Cognoscere*, 'to collect information about a thing;' but as at the same time it contains the idea of 'learning' or 'discovering,' it is followed by the accusative with the infinitive. Sense: 'When they had gathered information about the condition of the state, and learnt that,' &c.

[2] *Bibracte*, the modern Autun, i. 23, note 2. Latin names of towns of the first declension ending in *e*, as *Caere*, *Reate*, *Praeneste*, are put in the ablative, in answer to the question where?

[3] Before *quique* supply *iis*.

[4] *Itineris causa*, 'led by a journey, or 'in consequence of a journey.'

[5] *Quod* has the meaning of *tantum quantum*, 'as much as they could.'

[6] *Adductos excludere possent;* that is, 'whether they could, by want of provisions, prevent them from returning,' or 'cut off their return to the province.'

[7] *Ut* here is 'granting that,' 'supposing that,' while in the next clause the *ut* signifies 'as:' 'for supposing he directed his course towards the province, as some persons then,' &c.

umque difficultas impediebat, tum maxime, quod abjuncto[1] Labieno atque iis legionibus, quas una miserat, vehementer timebat. Itaque admodum magnis diurnis atque nocturnis itineribus confectis, contra omnium opinionem ad Ligerim pervenit; vadoque per equites invento, pro rei necessitate opportuno, ut brachia modo atque humeri ad sustinenda arma liberi ab aqua esse possent, disposito equitatu, qui vim fluminis refringeret, atque hostibus primo adspectu perturbatis, incolumem exercitum transduxit: frumentumque in agris et pecoris copiam nactus, repleto iis rebus exercitu, iter in Senonas facere instituit.

57. Dum haec apud Caesarem geruntur, Labienus eo supplemento, quod nuper ex Italia venerat, relicto Agendici,[2] ut esset impedimentis praesidio, cum quatuor legionibus Lutetiam[3] proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum, positum in insula fluminis Sequanae. Cujus adventu ab hostibus cognito, magnae ex finitimis civitatibus copiae convenerunt. Summa imperii traditur Camulogeno Aulerco, qui prope confectus aetate, tamen[4] propter singularem scientiam rei militaris ad eum est honorem evocatus. Is quum animadvertisset, perpetuam esse paludem, quae influeret in Sequanam[5] atque illum omnem locum magnopere impediret,[6] hic consedit nostrosque transitu prohibere instituit.

58. Labienus primo vineas agere, cratibus atque aggere paludem explere atque iter munire conabatur. Postquam id difficilius confieri[7] animadvertit, silentio e castris tertia vigilia egressus, eodem quo venerat itinere Melodunum[8] pervenit. Id est oppidum Senonum, in insula Sequanae positum, ut

[1] *Abjunctus*, a rare word, having the same meaning as *sejunctus* or *separatus*.

[2] See vi. 44, note 8.

[3] See vi. 3, note 1.

[4] *Tamen* refers to the idea of *quamvis*, which is contained in the participle *confectus*.

[5] Respecting the *influere* of a marsh or swamp *into* the river Sequana, see i. 8, note 11.

[6] *Impedire* in this passage signifies 'to render a place *impeditus*, or difficult to pass.'

[7] *Confieri;* that is, *confici*. In composition, *facere* very rarely makes the passive *fieri*. Compare Livy, v. 50; Cicero, *ad Fam.* iv. 5, *ad Att.* ix. 8.

[8] *Melodunum*, a town on the river Seine, south of Paris, now called Melun.

paullo ante Lutetiam diximus.[1] Deprehensis navibus circiter L. celeriterque conjunctis, atque eo[2] militibus impositis, et rei novitate perterritis oppidanis, quorum magna pars ad bellum erat evocata, sine contentione oppido potitur. Refecto ponte, quem superioribus diebus hostes resciderant, exercitum traducit, et secundo flumine[3] ad Lutetiam iter facere coepit. Hostes, re cognita ab iis, qui a Meloduno profugerant, Lutetiam incendi pontesque ejus oppidi rescindi jubent: ipsi profecti a palude, in ripis Sequanae, e regione Lutetiae, contra Labieni castra considunt.[4]

59. Jam Caesar a Gergovia discessisse audiebatur; jam de Aeduorum defectione et secundo Galliae motu[5] rumores afferebantur, Gallique in colloquiis, interclusum itinere et Ligeri[6] Caesarem, inopia frumenti coactum, in provinciam contendisse confirmabant. Bellovaci autem, defectione Aeduorum cognita, qui ante erant per se infideles, manus cogere atque aperte bellum parare coeperunt. Tum Labienus, tanta rerum commutatione, longe aliud sibi capiendum consilium atque antea senserat, intelligebat: neque jam, ut aliquid acquireret proelioque hostes lacesseret, sed ut incolumem exercitum Agendicum reduceret, cogitabat. Namque altera ex parte Bellovaci, quae civitas in Gallia maximam habet opinionem virtutis,[7] instabant; alteram Camulogenus parato atque instructo exercitu tenebat: tum legiones, a praesidio atque impedimentis interclusas, maximum flumen[8] distinebat. Tantis subito difficultatibus objectis, ab animi virtute auxilium petendum videbat.

60. Itaque sub vesperum consilio convocato, cohortatus, ut ea, quae imperasset, diligenter industrieque administrarent, naves, quas a Meloduno deduxerat, singulas equitibus Romanis attribuit, et prima confecta vigilia, quatuor milia passuum secundo flumine silentio progredi ibique se exspectari jubet. Quinque cohortes, quas minime firmas ad dimicandum

[1] Supply *positam esse.*

[2] *Eo;* that is, *iis;* namely *navibus.* Compare v. 14, note 1.

[3] *Secundo flumine,* 'down the river,' *secundus* being derived from *sequi.*

[4] *Considunt,* 'they settle,' or 'pitch their camp.'

[5] *Secundus motus,* 'a successful movement.'

[6] *Itinere et Ligeri;* that is, *transitu Ligeris,* 'from crossing the Liger.'

[7] See ii. 4.

[8] Namely, the Sequana, which at that time was much swollen by the melting of the snow.

esse existimabat, castris praesidio relinquit: quinque ejusdem legionis reliquas de media nocte cum omnibus impedimentis adverso flumine[1] magno tumultu proficisci imperat. Conquirit etiam lintres: has magno sonitu remorum incitatas in eamdem partem mittit. Ipse post paullo, silentio egressus, cum tribus legionibus eum locum petit, quo naves appelli jusserat.

61. Eo quum esset ventum, exploratores hostium, ut[2] omni fluminis parte erant dispositi, inopinantes, quod magna subito erat coorta tempestas, ab nostris opprimuntur: exercitus[3] equitatusque, equitibus Romanis administrantibus, quos ei negotio praefecerat, celeriter transmittitur. Uno fere tempore sub lucem hostibus nunciatur, in castris Romanorum praeter consuetudinem tumultuari[4] et magnum ire agmen adverso flumine, sonitumque remorum in eadem parte exaudiri et paullo infra milites navibus transportari. Quibus rebus auditis, quod existimabant tribus locis transire legiones atque omnes, perturbatos defectione Aeduorum, fugam parare, suas quoque copias in tres partes distribuerunt. Nam, et praesidio e regione castrorum relicto, et parva manu Metiosedum[5] versus missa, quae tantum progrederetur, quantum naves processissent, reliquas copias contra Labienum duxerunt.

62. Prima luce et nostri omnes erant transportati, et hostium acies cernebatur. Labienus, milites cohortatus, ut suae pristinae virtutis et tot secundissimorum proeliorum memoriam retinerent, atque ipsum Caesarem, cujus ductu saepenumero hostes superassent, praesentem adesse[6] existimarent, dat signum proelii. Primo concursu ab dextro cornu, ubi septima legio constiterat, hostes pelluntur atque in fugam conjiciuntur: ab sinistro, quem locum duodecima legio tene-

[1] *Adverso flumine*, 'up the river,' or 'against the current of the river,' is the opposite of *secundo flumine*.

[2] *Ut* here is almost the same as *quum*, and may be rendered by 'as.' Compare v. 43, note 1.

[3] *Exercitus*, as frequently, is the same as *peditatus*, 'infantry.'

[4] *Tumultuari*, though a deponent verb, is here used in a passive sense; similar instances occur now and then. Compare vii. 77, note 5, p. 207.

[5] *Metiosedum* is commonly believed to be the modern town of Meudon, south of Paris, while others identify it with the modern Corbeil; but it is impossible to decide between these opinions.

[6] *Praesentem adesse* is an emphatic mode of expressing his presence: 'he bade them to act as if Caesar were present in person.'

bat, quum[1] primi ordines hostium transfixi pilis concidissent, tamen acerrime reliqui resistebant, nec dabat suspicionem fugae quisquam. Ipse dux hostium Camulogenus suis aderat[2] atque eos cohortabatur. At, incerto etiam nunc exitu victoriae, quum septimae legionis tribunis esset nunciatum, quae in sinistro cornu gererentur, post tergum hostium legionem ostenderunt signaque intulerunt. Ne eo quidem tempore[3] quisquam loco cessit, sed circumventi omnes interfectique sunt. Eamdem fortunam tulit Camulogenus. At ii, qui praesidio contra castra Labieni erant relicti, quum proelium commissum audissent, subsidio suis ierunt collemque ceperunt, neque[4] nostrorum militum victorum impetum sustinere potuerunt. Sic cum suis fugientibus permixti, quos non silvae montesque texerunt, ab equitatu sunt interfecti. Hoc negotio confecto, Labienus revertitur Agendicum, ubi impedimenta totius exercitus relicta erant: inde cum omnibus copiis ad Caesarem pervenit.

63. Defectione Aeduorum cognita, bellum augetur.[5] Legationes in omnes partes circummittuntur: quantum gratia, auctoritate, pecunia valent, ad[6] sollicitandas civitates nituntur. Nacti obsides, quos Caesar apud eos deposuerat, horum supplicio dubitantes territant. Petunt a Vercingetorige Aedui, ad se veniat rationesque belli gerendi communicet. Re impetrata contendunt, ut ipsis summa imperii tradatur; et re in controversiam deducta, totius Galliae concilium Bibracte indicitur. Eodem conveniunt undique frequentes. Multitudinis suffragiis res permittitur: ad unum omnes Vercingetorigem probant imperatorem. Ab hoc concilio Remi, Lingones, Treviri afuerunt: illi,[7] quod amicitiam Romanorum sequebantur; Treviri, quod aberant longius et ab Germanis premebantur: quae fuit causa, quare toto abessent bello et neutris auxilia mitterent. Magno dolore Aedui ferunt, se

[1] *Quum* has the meaning of *quamvis*, 'although,' whence the following *tamen.*

[2] *Adesse alicui*, 'to assist in words or in deed.'

[3] *Tempus*, in this passage, is, 'the decisive or critical moment.'

[4] *Neque*, here and elsewhere, has adversative power, being used for *sed non*, *neque tamen*, or *neque vero*. Compare iv. 26.

[5] The war is increased, inasmuch as the revolt of the Aedui also induced other tribes to try to shake off the yoke of the Romans.

[6] Before *ad* we must supply *tantum*, corresponding with the preceding *quantum.*

[7] *Illi;* namely, the Remi and Lingones.

dejectos principatu; queruntur fortunae commutationem et Caesaris in se indulgentiam requirunt;[1] neque tamen, suscepto bello, suum consilium ab reliquis separare audent. Inviti summae spei adolescentes, Eporedirix et Virdumarus, Vercingetorigi parent.

64. Ille imperat reliquis civitatibus obsides: denique ei rei constituit diem: huc[2] omnes equites, XV. milia numero, celeriter convenire jubet: peditatu, quem ante habuerit, se fore contentum dicit, neque[3] fortunam tentaturum, aut in acie dimicaturum; sed quoniam abundet equitatu, perfacile esse factu, frumentationibus pabulationibusque Romanos prohibere: aequo modo animo sua ipsi frumenta corrumpant aedificiaque incendant, qua rei familiaris jactura perpetuum imperium libertatemque se consequi videant. His constitutis rebus, Aeduis Segusianisque, qui sunt finitimi provinciae, X. milia peditum imperat: huc addit equites DCCC. His praeficit fratrem Eporedirigis bellumque inferre Allobrogibus jubet. Altera ex parte Gabalos proximosque pagos Arvernorum in Helvios, item Rutenos Cadurcosque ad fines Volcarum Arecomicorum depopulandos mittit. Nihilo minus clandestinis nunciis legationibusque Allobrogas sollicitat, quorum mentes nondum ab superiore bello[4] resedisse[5] sperabat. Horum principibus pecunias, civitati autem imperium totius provinciae pollicetur.

65. Ad[6] hos omnes casus provisa erant praesidia cohortium duarum et viginti, quae ex ipsa coacta provincia ab L. Caesare[7] legato ad omnes partes opponebantur. Helvii, sua sponte cum finitimis proelio congressi, pelluntur, et C. Valerio Donotauro, Caburi filio, principe civitatis, compluribusque aliis interfectis, intra oppida murosque compelluntur. Allobroges,

[1] *Requirunt*, 'they miss,' or rather 'they feel the loss.'

[2] *Huc;* that is, *ad hoc*, or *ad hanc rem.*

[3] *Neque* here is the same as *neque etiam*, or *et non*, and the following *aut* introduces something like that which is introduced by the *neque* before; *neque* in the place of *aut* would introduce something different from what is contained in the words *fortunam tentaturum.*

[4] Compare i. 6, note 7.

[5] *Residere*, 'to settle down,' or 'to become appeased.'

[6] *Ad* is the same as *contra*, 'against all these emergencies.'

[7] *L. Caesar* was a relation of our author; he was consul in B.C. 64, and belonged to the aristocratic party; and although we here find him serving as legate under his great kinsman, he afterwards forsook him, and joined his enemy Pompey.

crebris ad Rhodanum dispositis praesidiis, magna cum cura et diligentia suos tuentur. Caesar, quod hostes equitatu superiores esse intelligebat, et interclusis omnibus itineribus, nulla re ex provincia atque Italia sublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas superioribus annis pacaverat, equitesque ab his arcessit et levis armaturae pedites, qui inter eos proeliari consueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum reliquisque, sed et[1] equitibus Romanis atque evocatis, equos sumit Germanisque distribuit.

66. Interea, dum haec geruntur, hostium copiae ex Arvernis equitesque, qui toti Galliae erant imperati, conveniunt. Magno horum coacto numero, quum Caesar in Sequanos per extremos Lingonum fines iter faceret, quo facilius subsidium provinciae ferri posset, circiter milia passuum x. ab Romanis trinis castris Vercingetorix consedit: convocatisque ad concilium praefectis equitum, venisse tempus victoriae demonstrat: fugere in provinciam Romanos Galliaque excedere: id sibi ad praesentem obtinendam libertatem satis esse; ad reliqui[2] temporis pacem atque otium parum profici:[3] majoribus enim coactis copiis reversuros, neque finem belli facturos. Proinde in agmine impeditos adoriantur.[4] Si pedites suis auxilium ferant atque in eo morentur, iter confici non posse; si, id quod magis futurum confidat, relictis impedimentis, suae saluti consulant, et usu rerum necessariarum et dignitate spoliatum iri. Nam de equitibus hostium,[5] quin nemo eorum progredi modo extra agmen audeat, ne ipsos quidem debere dubitare. Id quo majore faciant animo, copias se omnes pro

[1] *Sed et* or *sed etiam* generally follow after the negative *non solum* or *non tantum;* in this passage, the negative, though not expressed, is implied in the preceding clause, 'not only from the tribunes of the soldiers, but also from the Roman equites;' the Roman equites here are not common horsemen, but persons of equestrian rank. The *evocati* are men who had already served their time, but, to oblige a general, and derive further benefit, again engaged as soldiers.

[2] *Reliqui;* that is, *futuri.*

[3] *Parum profici,* 'little was gained.'

[4] *Adoriantur* depends upon some verb denoting 'to admonish' or 'advise,' which is implied in the preceding *demonstrat.*

[5] *De equitibus hostium* must be connected with the verb *dubitare,* though, instead of *de equitibus,* Caesar might also have used the genitive *equitum,* governed by *nemo,* and afterwards have omitted the pronoun *eorum.*

castris habiturum et terrori hostibus futurum. Conclamant equites, sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatur, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ne ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitarit.

67. Probata re atque omnibus ad jusjurandum adactis, postero die in tres partes distributo equitatu, duae se acies ab duobus lateribus ostendunt: una a primo agmine iter impedire coepit. Qua re nunciata, Caesar suum quoque equitatum, tripartito divisum, contra hostem ire jubet. Pugnatur una[1] tunc omnibus in partibus: consistit agmen: impedimenta inter legiones recipiuntur. Si qua in parte nostri laborare aut gravius premi videbantur, eo signa inferri Caesar aciemque converti jubebat: quae res et hostes ad insequendum tardabat, et nostros spe auxilii confirmabat. Tandem Germani ab dextro latere, summum jugum nacti, hostes loco depellunt; fugientes usque ad flumen,[2] ubi Vercingetorix cum pedestribus copiis consederat, persequuntur compluresque interficiunt. Qua re animadversa, reliqui, ne circumvenirentur veriti, se fugae mandant. Omnibus locis fit caedes: tres nobilissimi Aedui capti ad Caesarem perducuntur: Cotus,[3] praefectus equitum, qui controversiam cum Convictolitane proximis comitiis habuerat; et Cavarillus, qui post defectionem Litavici pedestribus copiis praefuerat; et Eporedirix, quo duce ante adventum Caesaris Aedui cum Sequanis bello contenderant.

68. Fugato omni equitatu, Vercingetorix copias suas, ut[4] pro castris collocaverat, reduxit; protinusque Alesiam,[5] quod est oppidum Mandubiorum, iter facere coepit; celeriterque impedimenta ex castris educi et se subsequi jussit. Caesar, impedimentis in proximum collem deductis, duabusque legionibus praesidio relictis, secutus, quantum diei tempus est passum, circiter tribus milibus hostium ex novissimo agmine

[1] *Una*, 'at one and the same time.'

[2] This river is the Arar (Saone).

[3] Respecting Cotus and Convictolitanis, see vii. 33, 39; though the Epodirix here mentioned cannot be the same as the one who is spoken of in vii. 54: he may have been his father, or even his grandfather.

[4] *Ut*, 'as,' or 'in the same manner' or 'order in which he had drawn them up,' &c.

[5] *Alesia*, a town situated on a considerable eminence, and surrounded on two sides by rivers, is the modern Alise. Compare vii. 69, and the plan there given.

interfectis, altero die ad Alesiam castra fecit. Perspecto urbis situ, perterritisque hostibus, quod equitatu,[1] qua maxime parte exercitus confidebant, erant pulsi, adhortatus ad laborem milites, Alesiam circumvallare instituit.

69. Ipsum erat oppidum in colle summo,[2] admodum edito loco, ut, nisi obsidione, expugnari non posse videretur. Cujus collis radices duo duabus ex partibus flumina[3] subluebant. Ante id oppidum planities circiter milia passuum III. in longitudinem patebat: reliquis ex omnibus partibus colles, mediocri interjecto spatio, pari altitudinis fastigio, oppidum cingebant. Sub muro, quae pars collis ad orientem solem spectabat, hunc omnem locum copiae Gallorum compleverant fossamque et maceriam[4] sex in altitudinem pedum praeduxerant. Ejus munitionis, quae ab Romanis instituebatur, circuitus XI. milium passuum tenebat.[5] Castra opportunis locis erant posita, ibique castella[6] XXIII. facta; quibus in castellis interdiu stationes disponebantur, ne qua subito eruptio fieret: haec eadem noctu excubitoribus ac firmis praesidiis tenebantur.

70. Opere[7] instituto, fit equestre proelium in ea planitie, quam intermissam[8] collibus III. milia passuum in longitudinem patere supra demonstravimus. Summa vi ab utrisque contenditur. Laborantibus nostris Caesar Germanos submittit, legionesque pro castris constituit, ne qua subito irruptio ab hostium peditatu fiat. Praesidio legionum addito, nostris animus augetur: hostes in fugam conjecti se ipsi multitudine impediunt atque angustioribus portis relictis[9] co-

[1] *Equitatu* is an ablative of limitation, limiting the general assertion of their being put to flight (*erant pulsi*) to the cavalry.

[2] *Collis summus* is 'the top of the hill,' while *editus locus* describes the nature of the same hill as very high.

[3] The two rivers here alluded to were the Lutosa and Osera, the modern La Loze and Le Lozerain. See the accompanying plan.

[4] *Maceria* or *maceries* is a wall made of stones and bricks, with earth between them; but no mortar was used; whence such walls seem to have derived their name from *macer*. *Praeducere* is 'to build or construct in front of.'

[5] *Tenebat* is here used as a neuter verb, and almost equivalent to *erat;* whence the genitive XI. *milium passuum.*

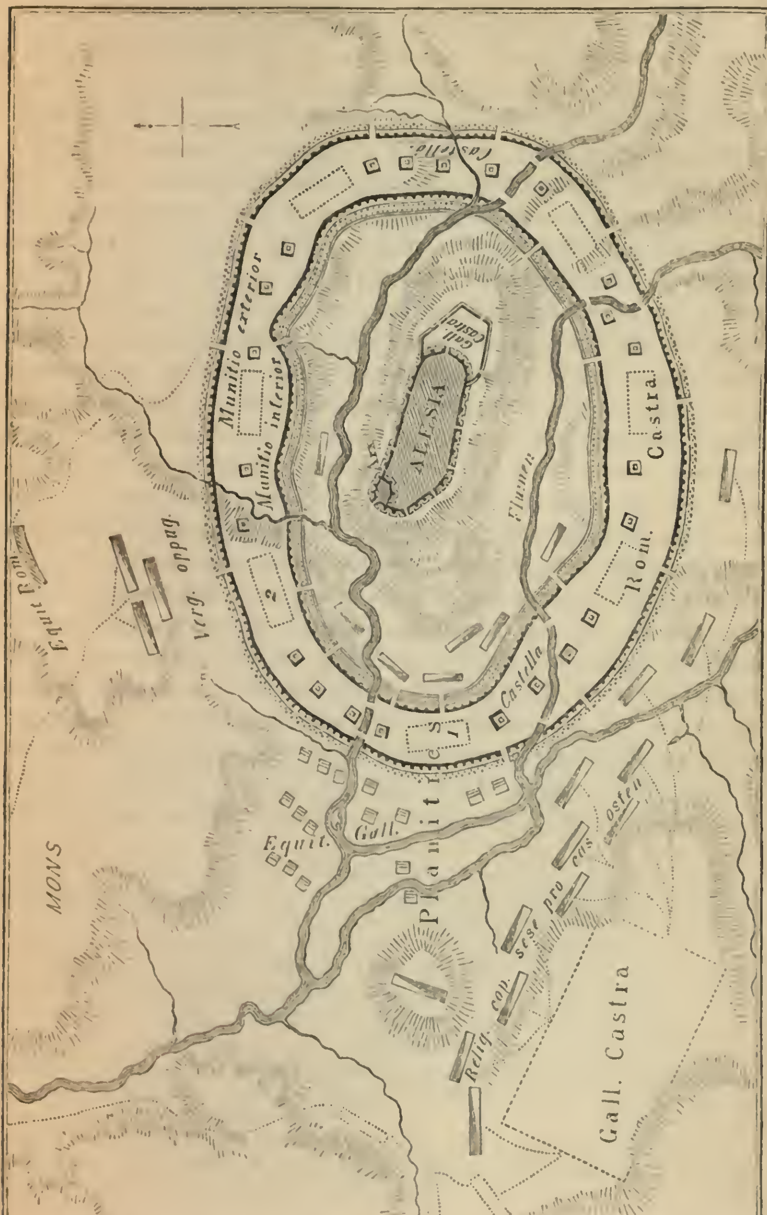
[6] *Castella,* 'forts.'

[7] The *opus* is the *circumvallatio* mentioned in the preceding chapter.

[8] *Intermissa,* 'situated in the midst of,' or 'surrounded by.'

[9] *Relictis;* namely, for entering by them: 'as only the small or

narrow gates had been left free.' — *Coartantur* has the reflective meaning of *sese coartant*, just as *promoveri* is used in the sense of *se promovere*.



1. Castra M. Antonii et Trebonii. 2. Castra C. Antistii Regini et C. Caninii Rebili.

artantur. Tum Germani acrius usque ad munitiones sequuntur. Fit magna caedes: nonnulli, relictis equis, fossam transire et maceriam transcendere conantur. Paullum legiones Caesar, quas pro vallo constituerat, promoveri jubet. Non minus, qui intra munitiones erant, Galli perturbantur; veniri ad se confestim existimantes, ad arma conclamant; nonnulli perterriti in oppidum irrumpunt. Vercingetorix portas jubet claudi, ne castra nudentur. Multis interfectis, compluribus equis captis, Germani sese recipiunt.

71. Vercingetorix, priusquam munitiones ab Romanis perficiantur, consilium capit, omnem ab se equitatum noctu dimittere.[1] Discedentibus mandat, ut suam quisque eorum civitatem adeat omnesque, qui per aetatem arma ferre possint, ad bellum cogant; sua in illos merita proponit obtestaturque, ut suae salutis rationem habeant, neu se, de communi libertate optime meritum, hostibus in cruciatum dedant: quod si[2] indiligentiores fuerint, milia hominum delecta LXXX. una secum interitura demonstrat; ratione inita,[3] frumentum se exigue dierum XXX. habere, sed paullo etiam longius tolerare posse parcendo. His datis mandatis, qua erat nostrum opus intermissum,[4] secunda vigilia silentio equitatum dimittit; frumentum omne ad se referri jubet; capitis poenam iis, qui non paruerint, constituit; pecus, cujus magna erat ab Mandubiis compulsa copia, viritim distribuit; frumentum parce et paullatim metiri instituit; copias omnes, quas pro oppido collocaverat, in oppidum recipit. His rationibus auxilia Galliae exspectare et bellum administrare parat.

72. Quibus rebus ex perfugis et captivis cognitis, Caesar haec genera munitionis instituit. Fossam pedum XX. directis[5]

[1] *Dimittere;* the infinitive after *consilium* and *tempus*, instead of the genitive of the gerund, frequently occurs in Latin, but is an imitation of the Greek. Compare vii. 26.

[2] *Quod si* is nearly the same as *si* alone; sometimes it may be rendered by 'if therefore.' The *quod* is added to *si* for the purpose of connecting the sentence more closely with the preceding one.

[3] *Ratione inita*, 'after a calculation was made.' *Exigue* is here used in the sense of *parum* or *vix*, 'scarcely.'

[4] *Intermissum;* that is, where between two points there was a part which had not yet been fortified, and through which the enemies might escape.

[5] *Directis lateribus*, 'with straight sides;' that is, the sides or banks of the ditch, and consequently the ditch itself also, formed straight lines.

lateribus duxit, ut[1] ejus fossae solum tantumdem pateret, quantum summa labra distabant. Reliquas omnes munitiones ab ea fossa passus CCCC. reduxit: id hoc consilio, (quoniam tantum esset necessario spatium complexus, nec facile totum corpus[2] corona militum cingeretur,) ne de improviso aut noctu ad munitiones hostium multitudo advolaret, aut interdiu tela in nostros, operi destinatos,[3] conjicere possent. Hoc intermisso spatio duas fossas, XV. pedes latas, eadem altitudine perduxit: quarum interiorem, campestribus ac demissis locis, aqua ex flumine derivata complevit. Post eas aggerem ac vallum XII. pedum exstruxit; huic loricam[4] pinnasque adjecit, grandibus cervis[5] eminentibus ad commissuras pluteorum atque aggeris, qui adscensum hostium tardarent; et turres toto opere circumdedit, quae pedes LXXX. inter se distarent.

73. Erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari et tantas munitiones fieri necesse, diminutis nostris copiis, quae longius ab castris progrediebantur: ac nonnumquam opera nostra Galli tentare atque eruptionem ex oppido pluribus portis summa vi facere conabantur. Quare ad haec rursus opera addendum Caesar putavit, quo minore numero militum munitiones defendi possent. Itaque truncis arborum aut admodum firmis ramis abscisis atque horum delibratis ac praeacutis cacuminibus, perpetuae fossae, quinos pedes altae, ducebantur. Huc illi stipites demissi[6] et ab infimo revincti, ne revelli possent, ab ramis eminebant. Quini erant ordines,

[1] *Ut* here is equivalent to *ita ut*. What Caesar here describes is a ditch, the sides or banks of which are perpendicular, so that at the bottom the ditch is as broad as at the upper end (*labra*) of the banks.

[2] *Totum corpus* is the whole body or the whole extent of fortifications. *Corona militum* is 'a circle of soldiers,' or 'the soldiers stationed all around the fortifications to guard them.'

[3] *Destinatus* is almost the same as *intentus*, and may be construed either with the dative as here, or with the preposition *ad*.

[4] *Lorica* here is 'a coating of boards with iron or wooden points in it.' It seems to have been the same as what in chap. 25 was called *pluteus*. Respecting the *pinnae*, see v. 40, note 4.

[5] *Cervi* are trunks of trees presenting the appearance of forks, the branches not being entirely cut off, so that they resembled the horns of stags (*cervi*). They were placed in front of a ditch or rampart, so as to prevent the enemy approaching. The *commissurae* are the joints between the boards or stones.

[6] *Demissi*, 'sunk into the ground, and well fastened at the lower end.' The whole trunk was concealed in the ground, and they were visible only from the point where the branches began.

conjuncti inter se atque implicati; quo qui intraverant, se ipsi acutissimis vallis induebant.[1] Hos cippos appellabant. Ante hos, obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis, scrobes[2] trium in altitudinem pedum fodiebantur, paullatim angustiore ad infimum fastigio. Huc teretes stipites, feminis crassitudine, ab summo praeacuti et praeusti, demittebantur ita, ut non amplius digitis quatuor ex terra eminerent: simul, confirmandi et stabiliendi causa, singuli ab infimo solo pedes terra exculcabantur: reliqua pars scrobis ad occultandas insidias viminibus ac virgultis integebatur. Hujus generis octoni ordines ducti, ternos inter se pedes distabant. Id ex similitudine floris lilium appellabant. Ante haec taleae,[3] pedem longae, ferreis hamis infixis, totae in terram infodiebantur, mediocribusque intermissis spatiis, omnibus locis disserebantur, quos stimulos nominabant.

74. His rebus perfectis, regiones secutus quam potuit aequissimas pro loci natura, XIV. milia passuum complexus, pares ejusdem generis[4] munitiones, diversas ab his, contra exteriorem hostem[5] perfecit, ut ne magna quidem multitudine, si ita accidat ejus discessu,[6] munitionum praesidia circumfundi possent: neu cum periculo ex castris egredi cogantur, dierum XXX. pabulum frumentumque habere omnes convectum jubet.

75. Dum haec ad Alesiam geruntur, Galli, concilio principum indicto, non omnes, qui arma ferre possent, ut censuit Vercingetorix, convocandos statuunt, sed certum numerum cuique civitati imperandum; ne, tanta multitudine confusa, nec moderari, nec discernere suos, nec frumentandi rationem habere possent. Imperant Aeduis atque eorum clientibus, Segusianis, Ambivaretis, Aulercis Brannovicibus [Branno-

[1] *Induebant se*, 'they became entangled in the sharp pallisades (*valli*); *vallis*, the dative, being the same as *inter vallos*.

[2] *Scrobes* are holes in the earth, of the form of a wine glass, broad at the top, and ending below in a point, which is here called *infimum fastigium*.

[3] *Taleae* are small staves or sticks, and the *hami* iron hooks.

[4] *Pares ejusdem generis* is not a pleonasm, since things may be of the same kind (*ejusdem generis*) in form, but yet are not *pares* in size and strength.

[5] *Hostis exterior* is the cavalry sent out by Vercingetorix, and the forces that they might collect.

[6] *Ejus discessu;* namely, of the cavalry or *hostis exterioris*.

viis], milia XXXV.; parem numerum Arvernis, adjunctis Eleutheris Cadurcis, Gabalis, Velaunis, qui sub imperio Arvernorum esse consuerunt; Senonibus, Sequanis, Biturigibus, Santonis, Rutenis, Carnutibus duodena milia; Bellovacis X.; totidem Lemovicibus; octona Pictonibus et Turonis et Parisiis et Helviis; Suessionibus, Ambianis, Mediomatricis, Petrocoriis, Nerviis, Morinis, Nitiobrigibus quina milia; Aulercis Cenomanis totidem; Atrebatibus IV.; Bellocassis, Lexoviis, Aulercis Eburonibus terna; Rauracis et Boiis XXX.; universis civitatibus, quae Oceanum attingunt quaeque eorum consuetudine Armoricae appellantur, (quo sunt in numero Curiosolites, Rhedones, Ambibari, Caletes, Osismii, Lemovices, Veneti, Unelli) sex. Ex his Bellovaci suum numerum non contulerunt, quod se suo nomine atque arbitrio cum Romanis bellum gesturos dicerent, neque cuiusquam imperio obtemperaturos: rogati tamen ab Commio, pro ejus hospitio bina milia miserunt.

76. Hujus opera Commii, ita ut antea demonstravimus,[1] fideli atque utili superioribus annis erat usus in Britannia Caesar: quibus ille pro meritis civitatem ejus immunem esse jusserat, jura legesque reddiderat atque ipsi Morinos attribuerat. Tanta tamen universae Galliae consensio fuit libertatis vindicandae et pristinae belli laudis recuperandae, ut neque beneficiis, neque amicitiae memoria moverentur; omnesque et animo et opibus in id bellum incumberent, coactis equitum VIII. milibus et peditum circiter CCXL. Haec in Aeduorum finibus recensebantur numerusque inibatur:[2] praefecti constituebantur: Commio Atrebati, Virdumaro et Eporedirigi, Aeduis, Vergasillauno Arverno, consobrino Vercingetorigis, summa imperii traditur. His delecti ex civitatibus attribuuntur, quorum consilio bellum administraretur.[3] Omnes alacres et fiduciae pleni ad Alesiam proficiscuntur: neque erat omnium quisquam, qui adspectum modo tantae multitudinis sustineri posse arbitraretur; praesertim ancipiti proelio,[4]

[1] Compare iv. 21.

[2] *Numerusque inibatur;* namely, *eorum:* 'their number was counted.'

[3] *Administraretur;* the imperfect is used, because the leading verb *attribuuntur* is an historical present, instead of a perfect.

[4] *Anceps proelium* is not 'a doubtful battle,' as usual, but 'a twofold battle,' as the Gauls were to attack the Romans both in their front and in their rear.

quum ex oppido eruptione[1] pugnaretur, foris tantae copiae equitatus peditatusque cernerentur.

77. At ii, qui Alesiae obsidebantur, praeterita die,[2] qua suorum auxilia exspectaverant, consumto omni frumento, inscii, quid in Aeduis gereretur, concilio coacto, de exitu fortunarum suarum consultabant. Apud quos[3] variis dictis sententiis, quarum pars deditionem, pars, dum vires suppeterent, eruptionem[4] censebant, non praetereunda videtur oratio Critognati, propter ejus singularem ac nefariam crudelitatem. Hic summo in Arvernis ortus loco et magnae habitus auctoritatis, Nihil, inquit, de eorum sententia dicturus sum, qui turpissimam servitutem deditionis nomine appellant; neque hos habendos civium loco, neque ad concilium adhibendos censeo. Cum iis mihi res sit, qui eruptionem probant: quorum in consilio, omnium vestrum consensu, pristinae residere virtutis memoria videtur. Animi est ista mollities, non virtus, inopiam paullisper ferre non posse. Qui se ultro morti offerant, facilius reperiuntur, quam qui dolorem patienter ferant. Atque ego hanc sententiam probarem, (nam apud me tantum dignitas[5] potest) si nullam praeterquam vitae nostrae jacturam fieri viderem; sed in consilio capiendo omnem Galliam respiciamus, quam ad nostrum auxilium concitavimus. Quid, hominum milibus LXXX. uno loco interfectis, propinquis consanguineisque nostris animi[6] fore existimatis, si paene in ipsis cadaveribus proelio decertare cogentur? Nolite hos vestro auxilio exspoliare, qui vestrae salutis causa suum periculum neglexerint; nec[7] stultitia ac temeritate vestra, aut imbecillitate animi, omnem Galliam prosternere et perpetuae servituti

[1] *Eruptione;* that is, *eruptione facta.*

[2] *Praeterita die;* that is, *quum dies praeteriisset;* the participle *praeteritus* being used in the same way as the participle of a deponent verb.

[3] *Apud quos* should have been *in quo concilio;* but the *quos* refers to the men of whom the *concilium* consisted.

[4] *Eruptionem;* to this as well as to the preceding *deditionem* we must supply *faciendam.*

[5] *Dignitas* here is, the authority and influence of the persons who had advised to make a sally.

[6] *Quid animi,* 'what degree of courage?' or 'what state of feeling will they be in?'

[7] The *nec* after *nolite* may either contain a repetition of the negative contained in *nolite,* or we must supply after it *velitis,* taken out of *nolite,* which is itself equivalent to *ne velitis.*

addicere. An,[1] quod ad diem non venerunt, de eorum fide constantiaque dubitatis? Quid ergo? Romanos in illis ulterioribus munitionibus animine causa[2] quotidie exerceri putatis? Si illorum[3] nunciis confirmari non potestis, omni aditu praesepto; iis utimini testibus, appropinquare eorum adventum; cujus rei timore exterriti diem noctemque in opere versantur. Quid ergo mei consilii est? Facere, quod nostri majores nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum Teutonumque fecerunt; qui in oppida compulsi ac simili inopia subacti eorum corporibus, qui aetate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt,[4] neque se hostibus tradiderunt. Cujus rei si exemplum non haberemus, tamen libertatis causa institui et posteris prodi pulcherrimum judicarem. Nam quid illi simile bello fuit? Depopulata[5] Gallia Cimbri, magnaque illata calamitate, finibus quidem nostris aliquando excesserunt atque alias terras petierunt; jura, leges, agros, libertatem nobis reliquerunt; Romani vero quid petunt aliud aut quid volunt, nisi invidia adducti, quos fama nobiles potentesque bello cognoverunt, horum in agris civitatibusque considere, atque his aeternam injungere[6] servitutem? Neque enim umquam alia conditione bella gesserunt. Quod si ea, quae in longinquis nationibus geruntur, ignoratis; respicite finitimam Galliam, quae in provinciam redacta, jure et legibus commutatis, securibus[7] subjecta, perpetua premitur servitute.

78. Sententiis dictis constituunt, ut qui valitudine aut

[1] *An* here, as in many other cases, introduces the second part of a double question, the first being understood and implied in what precedes.

[2] *Animi causa*, 'for the sake of amusement.'

[3] *Illi* are the absent horsemen and the tribes whom they have stirred up; whereas the *ii* in the next clause are the Romans.

[4] *Vitam toleraverunt*, 'they maintained their lives.' From this passage we learn that the Gauls, at the time of the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones, when they were blockaded in their towns, fed upon the corpses of the aged and of their children.

[5] *Depopulata*, though a participle of a deponent verb, has a passive meaning. See vii. 61, note 4.

[6] *Injungere servitutem* is a much harsher expression than *imponere servitutem;* it implies severity and permanence, being taken from the yoking of cattle to the plough.

[7] The *secures* here mentioned are the axes and rods (*fasces*) carried by the lictors as the emblem of the power of a governor of a Roman province.

aetate inutiles sunt[1] bello, oppido excedant, atque omnia prius experiantur, quam ad Critognati sententiam descendant: illo tamen potius utendum consilio, si res cogat atque auxilia morentur, quam aut deditionis aut pacis subeundam conditionem. Mandubii, qui eos oppido receperant, cum liberis atque uxoribus exire coguntur. Hi, quum ad munitiones Romanorum accessissent, flentes omnibus precibus orabant, ut se in servitutem receptos cibo juvarent. At Caesar, dispositis in vallo custodiis, recipi prohibebat.

79. Interea Commius et reliqui duces, quibus summa imperii permissa erat, cum omnibus copiis ad Alesiam perveniunt, et colle exteriore occupato, non longius M. passibus ab nostris munitionibus considunt. Postero die equitatu ex castris educto, omnem eam planitiem, quam in longitudinem III. milia passuum patere demonstravimus,[2] complent pedestresque copias paullum ab eo loco abditas[3] in locis superioribus constituunt. Erat ex oppido Alesia despectus in campum. Concurritur, his auxiliis visis; fit gratulatio inter eos atque omnium animi ad laetitiam excitantur. Itaque productis copiis ante oppidum considunt et proximam fossam cratibus integunt atque aggere explent, seque ad eruptionem atque omnes casus comparant.[4]

80. Caesar, omni exercitu ad utramque partem munitionum disposito, ut, si usus veniat,[5] suum quisque locum teneat et noverit, equitatum ex castris educi et proelium committi jubet. Erat ex omnibus castris,[6] quae summum undique jugum tenebant, despectus; atque omnium militum intenti animi pugnae proventum[7] exspectabant. Galli inter equites raros sagittarios expeditosque levis armaturae interjecerant, qui suis cedentibus auxilio succurrerent et nostrorum equi-

[1] Instead of *sunt*, we might have expected *sint;* but the indicative represents the matter more as a fact, than as a part of their resolution.

[2] See vii. 69.

[3] *Abditas;* that is, *separatas* or *remotas;* namely, that their number might not be perceived.

[4] *Se comparare* is the same as *se praeparare*, or simply *se parare.* Compare iv. 18, note 1.

[5] *Si usus veniat;* that is, *si opus esse incipiat*, 'if there should be any necessity;' *usus* being the moment of time when use is to be made of something. Compare iv. 2, v. 15.

[6] *Ex omnibus castris;* that is, 'from all parts of the camp.'

[7] *Proventus* here is equivalent to *eventus*, 'the event,' or 'issue.'

tum impetus sustinerent. Ab his complures de improviso vulnerati proelio excedebant. Quum suos pugna superiores esse Galli confiderent et nostros multitudine premi viderent: ex omnibus partibus et ii, qui munitionibus continebantur, et ii, qui ad auxilium convenerant, clamore et ululatu suorum animos confirmabant. Quod in conspectu omnium res gerebatur, neque recte ac turpiter factum celari poterat: utrosque[1] et laudis cupiditas et timor ignominiae ad virtutem excitabant. Quum a meridie prope ad solis occasum dubia victoria pugnaretur, Germani una in parte confertis turmis in hostes impetum fecerunt eosque propulerunt: quibus in fugam conjectis, sagittarii circumventi interfectique sunt. Item ex reliquis partibus nostri, cedentes usque ad castra insecuti, sui colligendi facultatem non dederunt. At ii, qui ab Alesia processerant, moesti, prope victoria desperata, se in oppidum receperunt.

81. Uno die intermisso Galli, atque hoc spatio magno cratium, scalarum, harpagonum[2] numero effecto, media nocte silentio ex castris egressi, ad campestres munitiones accedunt. Subito clamore sublato, qua significatione,[3] qui in oppido obsidebantur, de suo adventu cognoscere possent, crates projicere,[4] fundis, sagittis, lapidibus nostros de vallo deturbare, reliquaque, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent, administrare. Eodem tempore, clamore exaudito, dat tuba signum suis Vercingetorix atque ex oppido educit. Nostri, ut superioribus diebus suus cuique locus erat definitus,[5] ad munitiones accedunt; fundis, librilibus[6] sudibusque, quas in opere disposuerant, ac glandibus Gallos perterrent. Prospectu tenebris ademto, multa utrimque vulnera accipiuntur; complura tormentis tela conjiciuntur. At M. Antonius et C. Trebonius,

[1] Before *utrosque* we must supply *et*, corresponding with the preceding *neque;* but Caesar, for the sake of animation, prefers putting the clauses together without the conjunction.

[2] *Harpagones* were long poles with strong iron hooks at the end, for the purpose of pulling down either the walls themselves, or anything erected upon the walls for the purpose of protecting the soldiers of the besieged.

[3] *Qua significatione;* that is, *ut ea significatione—possent.*

[4] *Projicere* and the following infinitives are descriptive infinitives. See i. 16, note 5; and v. 6, note 7.

[5] *Definitus;* that is, *attributus*, 'assigned.'

[6] *Librilia* are stones of a pound in weight, which were thrown against the enemy by means of slings. Respecting the *glandes*, see v. 43, note 9.

legati, quibus eae partes ad defendendum obvenerant, qua ex parte nostros premi intellexerant, iis auxilio ex ulterioribus castellis deductos submittebant.

82. Dum longius ab munitione aberant Galli, plus multitudine telorum proficiebant: posteaquam propius successerunt, aut se ipsi stimulis inopinantes induebant,[1] aut in scrobes delapsi transfodiebantur, aut ex vallo ac turribus transjecti pilis muralibus interibant. Multis undique vulneribus acceptis, nulla munitione perrupta, quum lux appeteret,[2] veriti, ne ab latere aperto ex superioribus castris eruptione circumvenirentur, se ad suos receperunt. At interiores,[3] dum ea quae a Vercingetorige ad eruptionem praeparata erant, proferunt, priores[4] fossas explent; diutius in iis rebus administrandis morati, prius suos discessisse cognoverunt, quam munitionibus appropinquarent. Ita, re infecta, in oppidum reverterunt.

83. Bis magno cum detrimento repulsi Galli, quid agant, consulunt: locorum peritos adhibent: ab his superiorum castrorum situs munitionesque cognoscunt. Erat a septemtrionibus collis, quem propter magnitudinem circuitus opere circumplecti non potuerant nostri, necessarioque paene iniquo loco et leniter declivi castra fecerant. Haec C. Antistius Reginus et C. Caninius Rebilus, legati, cum duabus legionibus obtinebant. Cognitis per exploratores regionibus, duces hostium LX. milia ex omni numero deligunt earum civitatum, quae maximam virtutis opinionem[5] habebant; quid quoque pacto[6] agi placeat, occulte inter se constituunt; adeundi[7] tempus definiunt, quum meridies esse videatur. Iis copiis Vergasillaunum Arvernum, unum ex quatuor ducibus, propinquum Vercingetorigis, praeficiunt. Ille ex castris prima

[1] See vii. 73, notes 1 and 2.

[2] Respecting *appetere*, see vi. 35, note 2.

[3] *Interiores* are those enemies who were in the town of Alesia.

[4] Before *priores* (which is a nominative, and not an accusative) *et* must be understood, which Caesar likes to omit, to make his descriptions more vivid and animated.

[5] *Opinio* here has a passive meaning: 'who were believed to be most valorous.'

[6] *Quid quoque pacto*, 'what was to be done, and in what manner it was to be done.' *Pactum* properly is an agreement or contract determining the nature or manner of something.

[7] *Adeundi;* that is, *appropinquandi*, or *aggrediendi;* namely, *castra*.

vigilia egressus, prope confecto sub lucem itinere, post montem se occultavit militesque ex nocturno labore sese reficere jussit. Quum jam meridies appropinquare videretur, ad ea castra, quae supra demonstravimus,[1] contendit: eodemque tempore equitatus ad campestres munitiones accedere et reliquae copiae pro castris sese ostendere coeperunt.

84. Vercingetorix ex arce Alesiae suos conspicatus, ex oppido egreditur; a castris longurios,[2] musculos, falces reliquaque, quae eruptionis causa paraverat, profert. Pugnatur uno tempore omnibus locis acriter, atque omnia tentantur: qua minime visa pars firma est, huc concurritur. Romanorum manus tantis munitionibus distinetur, nec facile pluribus locis occurrit. Multum ad terrendos nostros valuit clamor, qui post tergum pugnantibus[3] exstitit, quod suum periculum in aliena vident virtute[4] consistere: omnia enim plerumque, quae absunt, vehementius hominum mentes perturbant.

85. Caesar idoneum locum nactus, quid quaque in parte geratur, cognoscit, laborantibus auxilium submittit. Utrisque ad animum occurrit[5] unum illud esse tempus, quo maxime contendi conveniat. Galli, nisi perfregerint munitiones, de omni salute desperant: Romani, si rem obtinuerint,[6] finem laborum omnium exspectant. Maxime ad superiores munitiones laboratur, quo Vergasillaunum missum demonstravimus. Exiguum loci[7] ad declivitatem fastigium magnum habet momentum. Alii tela conjiciunt; alii testudine facta

[1] Namely, the *superiora castra*, or the camp on the hill.

[2] *Longurii* are long poles; and *musculi* sheds or roofs, under the protection of which soldiers might make an attack upon the walls or ramparts of a place.

[3] *Pugnantibus;* this dative depends upon *exstitit*. Caesar might have used the genitive dependent upon *tergum*, but it would have been less expressive.

[4] *In aliena virtute*, &c.; that is, they perceived that their own danger consisted in the valour of the enemies in their rear, and their safety in the cowardice of those same enemies, though their shouts did not seem to indicate that they were cowards.

[5] *Ad animum occurrit;* that is, *in mentem venit*, 'it occurred to them,' or 'to their minds.'

[6] *Rem obtinere* is a general expression, denoting here the same as *victoriam referre*, 'to carry off the victory.'

[7] *Exiguum loci*, &c.; that is, *loci fastigium, quamvis exiguum, tamen ob declivitatem magnum habet momentum*, 'an eminence, though not very high, is yet of great importance.' *Ad* is the same as *quod attinet ad*, 'in regard to,' or 'on account of.'

subeunt; defatigatis in vicem integri succedunt. Agger, ab universis in munitionem conjectus, et ascensum dat Gallis, et ea, quae in terram occultaverant Romani, contegit: nec jam arma nostris, nec vires suppetunt.

86. His rebus cognitis, Caesar Labienum cum cohortibus sex subsidio laborantibus mittit: imperat, si sustinere non possit, deductis cohortibus eruptione pugnet; id, nisi necessario, ne faciat. Ipse adit reliquos; cohortatur, ne labori succumbant; omnium superiorum dimicationum fructum in eo die atque hora docet consistere. Interiores, desperatis campestribus locis propter magnitudinem munitionum, loca praerupta ex ascensu[1] tentant: huc ea, quae paraverant, conferunt: multitudine telorum ex turribus propugnantes deturbant: aggere et cratibus fossas explent, aditus expediunt: falcibus vallum ac loricam rescindunt.

87. Caesar mittit primo Brutum[2] adolescentem cum cohortibus sex, post cum aliis septem C. Fabium legatum: postremo ipse, quum vehementius pugnarent, integros subsidio adducit. Restituto proelio ac repulsis hostibus, eo, quo Labienum miserat, contendit; cohortes quatuor ex proximo castello deducit; equitum se partem sequi, partem circumire exteriores munitiones et ab tergo hostes adoriri jubet. Labienus, postquam neque aggeres, neque fossae vim hostium sustinere poterant, coactis undequadraginta cohortibus, quas ex proximis praesidiis deductas fors obtulit, Caesarem per nuncios facit certiorem, quid faciundum existimet. Accelerat Caesar, ut proelio intersit.

88. Ejus adventu ex colore vestitus[3] cognito, (quo insigni in proeliis uti consueverat,) turmisque equitum et cohortibus visis, quas se sequi jusserat, ut de locis superioribus haec declivia et devexa cernebantur, hostes proelium committunt. Utrimque clamore sublato, excipit[4] rursus ex vallo atque om-

[1] *Praerupta ex ascensu;* that is, 'steep from the point where the ascent begins.'

[2] Whether this is Decimus or Marcus Brutus is uncertain, though it is more probable that the former is meant.

[3] The colour of a general's cloak was scarlet, with a purple stripe in front. The words which follow in parenthesis are intended to show that Caesar was not afraid of exposing his person in cases of great danger.

[4] *Excipit;* supply *hunc clamorem,* to be taken out of the preceding ablative absolute.

nibus munitionibus clamor. Nostri, omissis pilis, gladiis rem gerunt. Repente post tergum equitatus cernitur: cohortes aliae appropinquant: hostes terga vertunt: fugientibus equites occurrunt: fit magna caedes. Sedulius, dux et princeps Lemovicum, occiditur: Vergasillaunus Arvernus vivus in fuga comprehenditur: signa militaria LXXIV. ad Caesarem referuntur: pauci ex tanto numero se incolumes in castra recipiunt. Conspicati ex oppido caedem et fugam suorum, desperata salute, copias a munitionibus reducunt. Fit protinus, hac re audita, ex castris Gallorum fuga. Quod nisi crebris subsidiis ac totius diei labore milites essent defessi,[1] omnes hostium copiae deleri potuissent. De media nocte missus equitatus novissimum agmen consequitur: magnus numerus capitur atque interficitur, reliqui ex fuga in civitates discedunt.

89. Postero die Vercingetorix, concilio convocato, id se bellum suscepisse non suarum necessitatum,[2] sed communis libertatis causa, demonstrat; et quoniam sit fortunae cedendum, ad utramque rem se illis offerre, seu morte sua Romanis satisfacere, seu vivum tradere velint. Mittuntur de his rebus ad Caesarem legati. Jubet arma tradi, principes produci. Ipse in munitione pro castris consedit: eo duces producuntur. Vercingetorix deditur, arma projiciuntur. Reservatis Aeduis atque Arvernis, si per eos civitates recuperare[3] posset, ex reliquis captivis toto exercitu[4] capita singula praedae nomine distribuit.

90. His rebus confectis in Aeduos proficiscitur; civitatem recipit. Eo legati ab Arvernis missi, quae imperaret, se facturos pollicentur. Imperat magnum numerum obsidum. Legiones in hiberna mittit: captivorum circiter XX. milia Aeduis Arvernisque reddit: T. Labienum duabus cum legionibus et equitatu in Sequanos proficisci jubet: huic M. Sem-

[1] *Essent defessi;* that is, *fuissent defessi.* Respecting this use of the imperfect instead of the pluperfect subjunctive, see Zumpt, *Lat Gram.*, § 525.

[2] *Necessitates* here are 'connexions of friendship or relationship.'

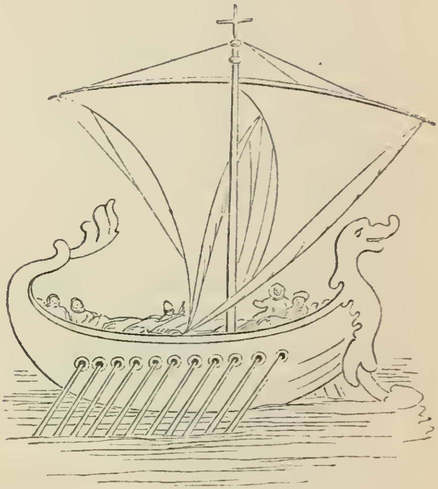
[3] *Recuperare civitates* is 'to recover the friendship and good-will of the states.'

[4] *Toto exercitu,* 'in the whole army,' the ablative being used instead of *per totum exercitum,* 'throughout the army.' *Singula capita* are individuals: 'he gave one captive to each of his soldiers.'

pronium Rutilum attribuit:[1] C. Fabium et L. Minucium Basilum cum duabus legionibus in Remis collocat, ne quam ab finitimis Bellovacis calamitatem accipiant. C. Antistium Reginum in Ambivaretos, T. Sextium in Bituriges, C. Caninium Rebilum in Rutenos cum singulis legionibus mittit. Q. Tullium Ciceronem et P. Sulpicium Cabilloni[2] et Matiscone in Aeduis ad Ararim rei frumentariae causa collocat. Ipse Bibracte hiemare constituit. His rebus litteris Caesaris cognitis, Romae dierum xx. supplicatio indicitur.

[1] *Attribuit;* namely, as his assistant and vicegerent in case of Labienus being obliged to leave his post.

[2] See vii. 42, note 4. *Matisco* is the modern town of Maçon on the Saone, between Lyon and Chalons.



GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

Arverni, a people inhabiting the country now called Auvergne.
Atrĕbătes, a Gallic people in the neighbourhood of Calais.
Aulerci Brannovīces, a Gallic people in the neighbourhood of the Aedui.
Aulerci Diablintes and *Cenomani*, a Gallic people in Maine.
Aulerci Eburovīces, a Gallic people in the south-east of Normandy.
Ausci, a people in the south of Gaul, in the neighbourhood of Auch.
Avarĭcum, a town of the Bituriges; now Bourges.
Axŏna, a river in Gallia Belgica; now the Aisne.

Bacēnis, a forest in Germany; according to some, the Thüringer Wald; according to others, the Harz Mountain.
Bătăvorum Insula, the island which is formed by the northern arm of the Rhenus (Rhine), the Vahalis (Waal), and the ocean.
Belgae, one of the three nations into which Caesar divides the inhabitants of Gaul. The Belgae extended from the Matrona (Marne) and the Sequana (Seine) to the Rhenus (Rhine).
Belgium, a part of Gallia Belgica, which comprehended the Bellovaci, Atrebates, and Ambiani.
Bellocassi, a Gallic people in Normandy, east of the Sequana (Seine).
Bellovăci, a people in Gallia Belgica, between the Sequana (Seine), the Isara (Oise), and the Samara (Somme), about the modern Beauvais.
Bibracte, a town of the Aedui, afterwards called Augustodunum, and now Autun.
Bibrax, a town of the Remi; perhaps the modern Bièvre.
Bibrŏci, a people in the south-east of Britain.
Bigerriones, a people in the south of Gaul, in the district called le Bigorre.
Biturĭges, a Gallic people west of the Aedui, from whom they were divided by the Ligeris (Loire).
Boii, a Gallic people, who passed over into Germany, and subsequently invaded Gaul with the Helvetii. After the defeat of the Helvetii, they dwelt in the territory of the Aedui.
Bratuspantium, a town of the Bellovaci, in the neighbourhood of Breteuil, in Picardy.

Cabillonum, a town of the Aedui on the river Arar; now Châlons-sur-Saone.
Cadurci, a people in the south of Gaul, in le Pays de Quercy.
Caeraesi, originally a people of Germany, dwelt in Gallia Belgica, in the neighbourhood of Liege.
Calētes, a Gallic people in the north-east of Normandy, in the neighbourhood of Caux.
Cantăbri, a people of Spain, in Biscay.
Cantium, a district in the south-east of Britain; now Kent.
Carcăso, a town in the south of Gaul, on the Atax (Aude), and on the road between Narbo Martius and Tolosa; now Carcasonne.
Carnūtes, a Gallic people in Orleans.

FINIS.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

*** The principal editions of Caesar's works, including the Commentaries on the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish wars, are those of J. J. Oberlin (Leipzig, 1819), which also contains the notes of Cellarius and Morus; and of F. Oudendorp (Lugduni Batavorum, 1737, 4to.), of which a good reprint was published at Stuttgard in 1822, in 2 vols. 8vo. The best separate editions of Caesar's work on the Civil War are by J. C. Held (Sulzbach, 1822, 8vo.), with a German commentary; and C. J. Herzog (Leipzig, 1834, 8vo.), likewise with a German commentary.